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**THE
CALCUTTA REVIEW**

An Illustrated Monthly

Established 1844

THIRD SERIES

Volume XXVIII

JULY—SEPTEMBER

1928

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The Calcutta Review



KRISTODAS PAL

THE CALCUTTA REVIEW

AUGUST, 1928



RURAL BENGAL IN THE SEVENTIES

Man is essentially a gregarious creature ; he finds the fullest scope for his faculties in close association with his fellows. The City-States of Hellas were formed by a process which the Greeks styled *Synecism*, "adding house to house." No love has ever been lost between townsmen and country folk. The ancient Romans called dwellers outside their walls *Pagani* (from *Pagus*, a village), and the early Christians used "pagan" as a synonym for heathen because the new religion made relatively slow progress among dull-witted rustics. Calcutta exemplifies the movement which converts a group of villages into a city ; its nucleus was three hamlets on the eastern bank of the Hughli. In 1742 the Council ordered a trench to be cut on the Settlement's vulnerable side, in order to protect it against the Maratha hordes which were raiding Bengal. The "Maratha Ditch" was never completed, but fifty years ago its course could still be traced in parts of Circular Road. There is a flavour of contempt in the sobriquet "Ditcher," which clings to citizens of Calcutta and they retaliated by referring to provincial Bengal as the "Mofussil" (a corruption of the Arabic *Mfshal*, denoting the interior of a country as distinguished from the seat

of its government, *Sadr*, vulgarly “Sudder”). In January 1871, I became a “Mofussilite,” on being transferred to the headquarters of a district on the Northern bank of the Padma, which is the main stream of the Ganges, although it lacks the sanctity attaching to the Hughli, a minor branch of the mighty river.

Fifty-seven years ago, all superior appointments were reserved by Act of Parliament for British subjects who had stood highest in a competitive examination held annually in London. After being trained for an Indian career, they were called on to enter into a “Covenant” with the Secretary of State, which forbade them to engage in private trade. Very few Indians could afford the cost of the journey to England, and in 1871 only one had gained a footing in the Covenanted Civil Service. His fellow-countrymen who stood outside its jealously guarded pale could reach no higher posts than those of Deputy Magistrate or Subordinate Judge. But Indians performed the routine duties in every office with marked efficiency, and rumour had it that a humble clerk was “the power behind the throne” occupied by many a highly-placed Civilian. It was only natural that educated Indians should view the European monopoly of office with displeasure. Their feelings were timidly voiced by the vernacular press, and found vent at meetings of the Dharma Sabhas, or Religious Assemblies, which took place in every large town. Thirteen years later the simmering discontent was brought to a head by the Lieutenant Governor’s ill-judged attempt to limit the right of trial by jury. It gave birth to the Congress Movement, to which Indians stand indebted for every political privilege they now enjoy.

I found Bengal studded with “Civil Stations,” each governed by Covenanted Civilians. Of these the District Magistrate and the Sessions Judge ranked as *Bara Sahebs*; beneath them was the Joint Magistrate, whose functions were mainly judicial, and the covenanted hierarchy was completed by the Assistant Magistrate, styled *Chota Saheb*, who learned his business under the *Bara*

Saheb's eye. In the early seventies a good many superior appointments were held by men who had entered the service by nomination and been very imperfectly trained for their duties at the East India Company's College. Many "Haileybury Men" were inclined to despise competition-wallahs, but on the whole they treated us very well. Some of them were notoriously incompetent, but the great majority displayed the sterling qualities of the British middle class. European officials in other departments were lumped together as "uncovenanted," and the jealousy aroused by our superior status was expressed by such epithets as "White Brahmin." All the other officials of my first station were in this category. There was a Civil Surgeon who attended "Gazetted Officers" gratis: and a Superintendent of Police, who owed allegiance to his own Department until Sir George Campbell (Lieut.-Governor, 1871-4) brought him under the District Magistrate's thumb. The Department of Public Works was represented by a District Engineer, but the roads for which he was responsible had lapsed into a 'parlous' state. Lord William Bentinck (Governor-General, 1833-36) was nicknamed "William the Kunkeror," owing to his insistence in ordering roads to be metalled with *Kankar*, or calcarean limestones; but forty years later his Grand Trunk Road, linking Calcutta with Upper India, was quite useless in the rainy season, and his successors failed to realise that a country's civilisation may be measured by the state of the roads. Sir George Campbell must have taken this dictum to heart. He made local authorities responsible for the upkeep of their roads and provided funds for the purpose by levying a cess *ad hoc* on landed proprietors.

The latter used to pay formal calls on leading Europeans when they visited a Civil Station, and feasted us royally on occasions of ceremony. Here, however, social intercourse between the races ended. That they had once been on friendly terms was proved by the Public Libraries which were to be found at most Civil Stations.

But the Mutiny of 1857 was recent history in the seventies: and it left bitter memories which kept Europeans and Indians apart. Our daily routine was much the same everywhere. We rose at 6 or 7 A.M. according to the season, and generally had a good gallop on the racecourse. Then we cooled our limbs in the Station Swimming Bath, whither our servants had preceded us with a change of clothes. I recollect a funny incident occurring at this rendezvous. Practical joking has happily gone out of fashion, but in the seventies it was considered capital sport—by the joker. While we were disporting ourselves in the water one morning, a colleague of mine pointed to his bearer, who was standing at the edge of the bath, and whispered: "Just see what a shock he'll get." Then, creeping stealthily behind the old man, he pushed him into deep water. This cruel trick evoked loud laughter which rose to shrieks, when the victim spluttered out on emerging, "I've got master's watch in my pocket!"

Our evenings were generally spent in promenading the Bund, an embankment which protected the town from inundation, while ancient dance music was rendered by the Station Band, under the direction of an ex-mutineer. This dreary form of recreation was varied by an occasional croquet-party—lawn tennis was not imported until 1874—which enabled bachelors to enjoy the society of the fair sex. In those days flying visits to England were unheard of, and the journey to Darjiling involved a trek by palanquin through the fever-haunted Terai. At my first station no fewer than six European ladies were content or compelled to share their husbands' sufferings in the hot weather and rainy seasons.

The non-official community consisted of Europeans engaged in producing indigo and raw silk. Most of the "Indigo Concerns" were owned by wealthy British firms whose policy it was to acquire an interest in land in order to force their ryots to deliver the raw material at prices which were far below the cost of producing it. During the Impeachment of Warren

Hastings, Thomas Erskine sought to excuse his high-handed action by admitting that an Indian Dominion had been won by the "Knavery and strength of Civilisation." Such was undoubtedly the case with Bengal Indigo—prior to the famous riots of 1863. They were started by the disclosures of a European missionary named Long, whose pamphlet entitled *Nil Darpan*, "Mirror of Indigo," incited the ryots to rise against their oppressors. A Commission, headed by the future Sir Ashley Eden, upheld Mr. Long's indictment, and means were taken to check the worst abuses. To place the manufacture of indigo on a sound economic basis was quite impossible. Eastern Bengal has a natural monopoly of the production of jute, which is yearly exported to the tune of £54,000,000. Things are far otherwise with indigo and raw silk. Both industries have been killed by the competition of more favoured countries and the discovery of artificial substitutes. In the early seventies, however, few signs of the approaching catastrophe had made their appearance. The European planters were a cheery set, much given to hospitality and sport. The Race Meetings which enlivened Christmas and New Year at most Civil Stations owed everything to their patronage.

After spending two unhappy years as a *Chota Saheb*, I received charge of a sub-division situated in the heart of an Indigo District. My social intercourse with the Planters left little to be desired; but as an official I was sorely handicapped by the lack of advice and support from my superiors. With the Indian community my relations were uniformly cordial. Realising that the proper function of a government is to make people happy, I took the lead in celebrating Queen Victoria's Birthday by feasting the rich and feeding the poor. With the aid of an Indian Committee I started annual fairs, to which many thousands flocked from far and wide. Bengalis have marked dramatic gifts and their language lends itself to poetic expression. I afforded scope to this hidden talent by building a temporary theatre,

in which vernacular plays and operas were rendered by an amateur company. The dullness of life in the country is responsible for the litigation and the faction-fighting to which Bengalis are addicted. My attempts to relieve it were seconded by Hindus and Moslems alike. In those peaceful days there was no sign of the "theological hatred," which politics has brought in its train; and the aggressive puritanism preached by Wahabi missionaries met with scant response.

Early in 1874 the failure of the Monsoon brought a shortage in the food crops of Western Bengal. The Behar Famine which supervened was vigorously tackled by Sir Richard Temple. He imported mountains of rice into the distressed region, segregated the diseased and helpless in concentration-camps, and strengthened the Behar cadres at the expense of Bengal.

I was transferred on famine duty to the Gaya District, where I came under the sway of a Magistrate Collector belonging to a type which has long been extinguished. Owing to his tyranny and caprice he was commonly known as "Sweet Pea," a nickname suggested by the first letter of his patronymic. He placed me in charge of a vast collection of huts mainly tenanted by lepers, whose tortured bodies displayed every species of deformity. Happily for myself I was not doomed to live in this inferno. The task of feeding the poor wretches devolved on a Eurasian Deputy Magistrate, who contracted leprosy. It used to be said of the pre-war English that they "dearly loved a big butcher's bill," i.e., they measured a victory by the list of killed and wounded. Sir Richard Temple knew that the same principle applied to financial operations. He poured out money like water; every ryot who owned a bullock-cart had the time of his life, and orders came by wire to double transport charges which were already exorbitant. Subsequent enquiries have proved that the distress in Behar had been grossly overestimated, and

that fifty per cent. of the £12,000,000 spent on relief went into the wrong pockets.

On returning to my Bengal sub-division, I found the cultivators battling with an inundation from two tributaries of the Ganges which was submerging their autumn rice. Thousands were raising mud embankments while thousands more busied themselves in harvesting the threatened crop. Their efforts came too late. In a day or two the whole country became a lake, from which the villages stood out as islands raised on the débris left by past generations. I had no difficulty in persuading the ryots to deal systematically with a recurrent danger. They worked with a will to protect their crops during the ensuing cold season, which is always a slack time in agriculture. When in September, 1875, the rivers again rose in flood they were kept within due bounds by neatly turfed embankments. Never shall I forget the thrill of joy I felt on riding along these stout protective works. On one side I saw a torrent of swirling water, while on the other, far below, a wide expanse of grain was ripening in perfect safety. But the Department of Public Works did not approve of any amateurish tampering with the Delta's drainage. I was told by telegram that an hydraulic engineer had been placed on special duty to report on my embankments. Three days later there arrived from the Punjab a thin, sad-looking person, named Long, whom I piloted over the new embankments on the north of my subdivision. We became great friends, and our evening talk wandered far from professional topics. After telling me with a sigh that he had lately lost a dearly-loved wife, he went on, "One morning a week ago my old bearer came to me and said, 'Saheb, I had a curious dream last night. The Mem-Saheb appeared to me and whispered 'Shadu, tell your master that he's going to be sent to Bengal and that he'll meet me there.''" Now I had not the remotest idea of any such transfer: but within a couple of hours I got a wire ordering me to report myself to the D. P. W.

Secretariat in Calcutta, and here I am. So the first "part of Shadu's dream has come true. I wonder what the rest of it means ? " After exchanging futile conjectures we made plans for a journey southwards, but at the last moment I got news of a threatened riot in the opposite direction. We, therefore, parted company and Mr. Long set out alone for the camp that had been pitched for us. Next day I heard to my grief that he had succumbed to an attack of cholera.

In 1877 Madras experienced famine on a far greater scale than anything I had seen in Behar. I wrote, offering my services to H. E. the Governor, with whose family mine was connected. In a week's time I was transferred on famine duty to the Southern Presidency and did not return to my dear old Province until the end of 1881.

FRANCIS H. SKRINE

II

TECHNICAL EDUCATION IN ENGLAND

As education in India is to a considerable extent modelled on the English system and as there is still a very strong tendency to do the same in new foundations, it seems desirable to make the next step¹ in this discussion a consideration of what has been done in England in the way of providing vocational training. But, the survey must be critical. The industrial supremacy of England is not due in any degree to her existing educational system. It was not until 1870 that Elementary Education was made compulsory. Most of the Technical Schools, and organised systems of Technical instruction now existing were instituted nearly a generation later than that, and have still to be tried out in practice. In the meantime industrial prosperity is sustained by the same causes that gave it birth in the early 19th century when there was no general education, technical or otherwise. It is not within the scope of this article to investigate those causes at any length. The most important of them were an abundant supply of cheap fuel, a favourable geographical position, and the enterprising character of her people.

All this is not to disparage education of course. All Western nations are now convinced that their industries depend for their continued prosperity on a sound educational system, and all are endeavouring to meet the need. But the Indian organizer should take care to avoid the fallacy that Western prosperity is a result of Western Education, which is thus proved to be a very good system and one to be closely imitated. The great modern technical schools, and their great endowments are a result of industrial success ; not its cause.

¹ See June number, *Calcutta Review*.

We have already drawn attention to the young coach-builder of 1828. This was about the time of the first railway. The steam locomotive is perhaps the machine of all most worthy to be regarded as the symbol of the mechanical age. In it the people of Europe first beheld power come out from the workshops and go forth to every corner of the world conquering and to conquer. The popular imagination has thus come to look upon George Stephenson as the typical and model engineer. As a matter of fact he did not invent the steam engine, the locomotive, nor the railway. His contribution was, energy, vision and the sustained resolution required to make the thing a success, in a word—character.

The life of Stephenson is well known. He was the son of a fireman, or as an Indian might put it, a “low caste man.” He had very little of any education even to the end of his life. What little scientific knowledge he had, he obtained by study in the evening after his day’s work was done. It is very doubtful if he invented a single one of the details that contributed to the success of the locomotive.

The locomotive was a synthesis of the work of many men, a product of its time. Stephenson was an enterprising energetic man who saw its possibilities and explored them to the utmost. The locomotive made Stephenson. Stephenson did not make the locomotive.

Now, it is possible to draw a number of conclusions from this. One is that technical, and scientific education is entirely unnecessary, even for success as an engineer. Another less extreme is that the engineer must necessarily receive the most important part of his education in the workshop, and therefore that his theoretical education can only be a spare-time job. Something very like this is the conventionally correct view in England. On the assumption that it is substantially correct has been erected the enormously expensive, and almost completely futile system of evening class education.

Before we proceed to discuss it, however, it is perhaps

desirable to say a word or two concerning what this article is about, and what it is not about. It is concerned with that kind of education that will be a cause of general advance in the efficiency of a country's industries and the wealth of the country as a whole. It is not particularly concerned with the arts and energies by which a man may become rich and influential in the direction of industry. That may be, and very often, if not usually, is quite a different matter.

Along with the decline in skill, and the rise of intelligence there has been a great increase of specialisation ; in some respects an advance, in others a deterioration. In as much as it is a bye-product of the increasing interlinkage of many men, and a replacement of isolated effort by combined effort, it is good. In as much as it confines and restricts a man's intellectual horizon it is bad. But that is by the way. The point is that even such a simple act as the shooting of a tiger, is in these days, the act not of an individual but of many men, most of whom would die of fear, if they thought there was a tiger at large in the same county. The hunter of the stone age who dug his pit and waited for the mastodon to fall into it might fairly claim the achievement for his own, if he pulled it off. But who ever heard of a big game hunter in these days who was the inventor of his explosive, its manufacturer, the metallurgist who provided the material, of his rifle the men who designed the machines on which the gun was made, and the dozen artisans who made it. These were all different men, so different that hardly one could have done the work of any of the others, and yet every one was a contributor to the ultimate triumph. So it is with all our industrial achievements. They are syntheses, every one of them. Among those who contribute are to be found dreamy "unpractical" men full of ideas, but quite incapable of applying them ; energetic persevering men who will experiment, and experiment for years on a single device, and yet other who will neither think nor experiment but who have the enterprise

to force the thing on the attention of other men and make it a commercial success. Of these three main types it is with the first and second that technical education is principally concerned.

The thesis of this essay is, how to organize education in order to raise the general level of material prosperity of a whole nation. If the object was to teach individuals how to secure an individual success, we would have to begin by sternly warning the reader to beware of the pernicious example of the dreamer and the experimenting monomaniac. It is in the highest degree improbable that either of them will die rich. Only the third man is likely to do that. He, also, is an agent of his country's prosperity, and no disparagement of his character is intended in dismissing him from this discussion. We are merely not concerned with him. Our problem is how to teach the dreamer to materialize his dreams, and how to give the experimenter that knowledge that would prevent him wasting his energies in a hopeless direction.

Day by day, year by year, the circumference of our acquired knowledge grows greater. At every point of it there are possibilities yet to be exploited. But science is not a mere creation of the mind. Many of its theories may be, but it is in essence an exploration of pre-existing and eternal law which is discovered, not made. As long as these laws were not known it was inevitable that much time should be wasted in trying to achieve the supernatural, and it is by no means obvious to ordinary common sense what is, or is not, supernatural. Wireless telegraphy, and the Rontgen rays, would have certainly struck the ordinary man as supernatural, at any period before they were demonstrated as possible and subject to natural law. The exploration and the extension of the boundaries of our knowledge have now gone on for a century since the foundation of the Stockton and Darlington Railway. More and more of collateral science is drawn upon and applied every decade by the technologist of every description. Nevertheless few people in England realize the fact. It is still supposed that an

engineer is essentially a blacksmith or a surveyor, working on a large scale, no doubt, but still for all practical purposes a mechanic as Stephenson was. He is supposed to be a rather skilful person with his hands of course, and as regards his education it is generally conceded that if he wishes to rise to a position of eminence, he should have a smattering of natural philosophy, such as can easily be picked up in his spare time. Scholarships are even provided to allow a few (fewer than fifty) to get a year or two of full time education. It is shown in Doctor Smile's biography of George Stephenson that in his spare time, he learnt reading, writing and "Figuring" (Elementary Arithmetic). There is some suggestion that he also did a little at physics, but the accounts given of his later experiments show very clearly that he had no real knowledge of science. This is what a young engineer studying in engineering classes must do if he is to have a chance to win one of the fifty or fewer scholarships mentioned above. He must devote one evening a week to :—

Practical Geometry for	...	..	Three years
Machine construction and drawing for	...	...	Three years
Pure Mathematics for	...	...	Four years
Practical Mathematics for	...	...	Two years
Theoretical Mechanics for	...	...	Three years
Applied Mechanics for	...	...	Three years
Physics for	...	...	Four years
Heat Engines for	...	...	Three years

This list was made out fifteen years ago, in order to estimate the amount of work required to win a Whitworth Exhibition which was then of the total value of £50 (Rs. 660). By working at his trade in the holidays, and perhaps with a little help in addition, a student might get a whole year of full-time study. The pace has got hotter since then and the

cost of education has risen together with other costs. One could not get a £50 scholarship so easily now and if one could, the £50 would not last much more than half as long.

Evening classes commonly last from 7 P.M. to 10 P.M. and continued to be held from September to April inclusive. An engineer's apprenticeship is five years in duration from 16 to 21 years of his age. The young engineer who would gain an adequate knowledge of the theory of his profession in evening classes must, in addition to an ordinary day's work in the shops devote five evenings a week to study during these years of his apprenticeship. Out of the tens of thousands who begin this colossal task each year, about 50 actually succeed in carrying it out, and do in some cases become successful innovating engineers. But the waste of effort and the injury inflicted alike on those who fail and on those who succeed is out of all proportion to the result. In these days a young engineer must in the period of his training recapitulate the discoveries of a century or more. The accumulation is too great to be a spare-time job and, even if it were not, the youth is entitled to enjoy his spare time. He has to become a human being as well as an engineer, and the intelligent enjoyment of leisure is part of his education as a tolerable citizen.

The one merit of evening class education is its cheapness. In many cases it is possible to make use of buildings used for other purposes during the day-time. The teachers are as a rule men not very successfully engaged during the day as professional engineers and glad to earn the small extra payment for an evening or two a week. For a very small fee per student such classes can be made self-supporting, and the delusion that many thousands are being technically trained practically without cost to the public purse is produced. But it is a pure delusion. There are crowded evening classes in nearly every large town in England. Their organizers produce imposing annual reports showing exactly how many students there are. The writer of these lines has himself taught in these evening classes for a

score of years; and knows from personal observation of the process that not one out of a hundred of these students ever succeeds in getting an education sufficiently complete to be of any practical value.

It is earnestly to be hoped therefore that Indian organizers will not be so misguided as to regard spare-time classes as in any way a solution of the problem of technical education. One of the greatest assets a nation has is the energy of its young men and their faith in the wisdom of their elders. This is the perennial motive force of the English system of evening-class education, which wastes and destroys it to little or no useful purpose. No matter how cheap it may appear a system that does that is in reality as costly as it is useless.

Every now and then the system is "reformed" by changing some of the subjects for others, or amalgamating them in twos or threes and pretending that the work to be done is thus halved or divided by three. So far no one had the courage to say that the attempt to impart the results of the progress of the most progressive century of history in the evening of five years is a tragic farce.

It has already been noted that the whole course is designed on the assumption that every student will go right through it, and if he does not is to be regarded as a total failure. On this principle about 90% of those who undertake the course turn out to be failures more or less complete. That is to say they abandon the effort sooner or later before completing it.

The course having been designed as a whole, they are thus left with an unusable fragment, stopping short of completion in any sense. A state of affairs analogous to that of certain subjects in the elementary schools is engendered. The students failing to attain or see any application of their knowledge, soon drop it quietly overboard, and devote their energies to something practical: very often to the commercial side of engineering, which as things are arranged is more profitable to the man who engages in it, though less profitable to the state. It is the

custom to blame their teachers for their failure, but it is the system which is to blame, and the responsibility for the system rests with those superficial citizens who insist on it under the delusion that it is economical. It is actually wasteful of an enormous proportion of the little that is spent on it, and ultimately, of course, in its waste of human material, about as extravagant as can well be imagined. But the financial aspect of the system is left for consideration later.

The teacher of a typical evening class is usually, like his students, a part-time man. He may in subjects collateral to the profession (Mathematics, Physics, etc., for the engineer) be really a teacher, with the special training that a teacher requires. If so the bulk of his experience is with boys under fourteen years of age under the draconic regime of the elementary school. Usually, however, he is engaged during the day-time in the same work as his students, and with a few honourable exceptions, is only a teacher by courtesy. The typical evening teacher is a man who has not done very well in his profession, and needs the money which he gets for such work to supplement his ordinary salary. This is a hard saying but it is a necessary, and, as admitted, with a few honourable exceptions, a true one.

The fact that evening teaching is nearly all futile cannot be concealed from the teacher, whoever else may be blind to it. The energy which has a surplus available for from three to ten hours' extra work a week is not very often to be found in men who have passed their first youth. In short, the payment is the principal motive. Like all work, for which the principal motive is a money payment, it is badly done. It would be badly done, even if it was adequately inspected by an inspectorate that had power to ruin the defaulting teacher, but there is not even that safeguard. As the conditions preclude success altogether there is no standard by which the teacher can be judged. The students themselves are not able to judge the value of what they receive. How

should they be? They have no experience. The defaulter has nothing to fear from them. As one lot of exhausted and disillusioned students drop off, a fresh and inexperienced lot come up to replace them. So the machine is driven by an upward stream of the energy and enthusiasm of youth, most of which it wastes. The wheels go round. The Principal's annual reports contain imposing figures describing the breadth of the stream, and the complexity of the machine, and much modest pride in the smoothness of its working. No one seems to notice or care that the machine is doing nothing external to itself in proportion to its size, to the adolescent energy which is its motive power, or to the money which it costs.

The occasional teachers who come in to the institution once or twice a week, at the moment the class starts, and bolt when their hour is up know nothing of each other, or of the other classes taken by the student in the same and other years of the course; except what is to be gleaned from the prospects, of which they probably read only the syllabus of their own classes, and interpret it according to their own temperament and ideas, if they have any. What leisure they have (and it obviously must be scanty) they do not spend in each other's society except rarely by some happy accident. No amount of organisation, no elaboration of syllabuses, no matter how careful and how ingenious, can weld such a collection of men into an organic whole with a common purpose and some community of method. They have no opportunity to co-operate with each other, as a rule they have not the vision, and even if they had both they have not the will.

Owing to the fluctuation of classes which are held one year and not another (A spell of prosperity with the resulting overtime will destroy all the advanced classes till it has passed) they are usually engaged for the session only. It is a very rare thing for the same set of teachers to be employed during the whole of a five years' course. Different men interpret the same syllabus in a widely different manner. The teacher of a third-year class

can make no assumptions from his previous experience as to the teaching his students have received in the previous two years. If he is a slacker he puts them all through the same mill. If not he spends the first month of each session finding out, and incidentally discouraging a proportion of his students either by a too high standard or by repeating at what seems to them a tedious length, matter already perfectly familiar to them.

And as if that were not enough, the powers that be, partly realising the absence of practical result, are always (about every three years), altering the syllabus entirely ; under the impression that the fault is one of mere arrangement.

The trouble with evening classes is this, and it cannot be too often repeated ; they are trying to do ten hours' work in one hour with tired students, and tired teachers. It is not suggested that evening classes should be abandoned altogether. As a relaxation they may endure indefinitely. But for the training of the complete engineer they are useless except in the case of men so gifted with energy, perseverance and natural ability that they would probably succeed under any circumstances. The number of these men is about one per cent. of those who present themselves. For the rest, the system is a training in failure.

A doctor of medicine in ordinary practice professes a knowledge of two closely allied machines only. They are complex, but there is only the two, male and female. He is not allowed to include such a similar machine as a horse or a dog, without the risk of being called a quack. We recognise him as qualified only if he has given the whole energy of five years to the study of his two machines. Note that he is only a repairer. He is not required to design or construct. The engineer taught as above, on the other hand, is expected to design, construct, use, and incidentally repair if necessary, at least a hundred very different machines, and structures, some of them little, if at all, less complex than the human body.

In general an engineer is not as esteemed or as well paid as a doctor. The reason is that he is not so well educated and the

reason for that is that evening classes have not given him the opportunity.

Or can it be because people attach more importance to their own survival than to anything else? If so it is time they awoke to the fact that a damaged lung, heart, or stomach will not more certainly hurl them into Eternity than will a defective bridge, locomotive or ship, such as all now use daily.

The numbers of the students (though only a small proportion of the mass of potential students) who present themselves in the early stages of the Evening Course are very large. Classes of forty, fifty and even sixty, are not unusual at the beginning, before disillusion thins them out. The institutions that cater for them must necessarily therefore provide large buildings to accommodate them. In general these buildings are useless for any other kind of work. Many of the rooms are laboratories, crowded with apparatus that cannot be removed during the day. They cannot be used as Elementary Schools because the desks are too large, and in some cases designed only for drawing.

There is very often a small nucleus of full-time teachers who, like the buildings, are free during the day time.

To the desire to make use of these empty buildings and the disengaged teachers during the day time is due most of the day classes. The full-time teachers, like their part-time colleagues, are not supposed to require any time for preparation. If they don't know all they may have to teach and are not ready to deliver themselves of it at a moment's notice they are called incompetent, and therefore of course they keep the fact that they do not and are not very dark. The buildings which are really empty, and the teachers who are thus supposed by every one to be idle during the day time, are made use of in various ways. Sometimes a Secondary School is carried on, in the buildings and by the teachers whose *raison d'être* is the evening classes, regardless of the fact that no one man can possibly be suitable to teach such diverse students.

More usually, there are small day classes in Engineering attended, by a miscellaneous lot of students, made up as follows :—

(a) Well-to-do youths who have failed to pass the Matriculation examination of a University. These are often still trying, and hoping to do so later, in which case, they devote to the regular class work only a part of abilities and energy already shown to be deficient. The age of these varies from seventeen to twenty.

(b) Sons of parents, sufficiently well off to be above requiring them to partially keep themselves, but not sufficiently well off to provide the higher fees and other expenses of a University. Every variety of ability and energy is represented in this lot.

(c) An occasional youth between fourteen and sixteen who is filling up the gap between the elementary school, and the beginning of apprenticeship, and who ought to be in a Secondary School.

These day classes account for perhaps three-quarters of the day students, whose total number is in the neighbourhood of a hundredth of the number of evening students.

Their principal defects are :—

That they have no connection with the workshop. (There are a few exceptions to this.)

That the students are selected on what amounts to the pecuniary circumstances of their parents, and not at all on their fitness for instruction.

That their numbers are so small that it is not possible to grade them properly either as to age or ability. Also on account of the small numbers the institution cannot afford to weed out those students who, for one reason or another, are a drag on the work. On the other hand, the small numbers are conducive to efficient teaching, the time available is very great in comparison with the evening classes, and the whole energy of the student is available for study.

This completes the system which has grown up from the Stephenson tradition.

Quite separate from the organisation described above, and having no connection whatever with it is the work of the Universities in technology. Its ancestry is the mediaeval University, and the training it gives is very similar in standard and general character to that which a doctor of medicine receives. With one exception, presently to be described, it is the best training an engineer can have. On this account and because of the prestige of centuries attaching to a University degree, it is the one selected by all parents who can afford it. The teachers (the professors that is, the same cannot always be said of subordinate teachers) are well paid and in their profession, the best available. They know what they have to teach, but they are not always able to teach it. They set the standard, however, and the students being well to do, are able to afford extra-mural private tuition, which pretty well fills the gap.

The University shares with the Stephensonian day classes the disadvantages, of separation from the industry, and the selection of students on pecuniary grounds only. Its noble traditions of freedom in learning and teaching are its invaluable monopoly.

The best system of technical education in England and perhaps in the world, is that which exists in the Dockyard Schools at Portsmouth, Devonport, Chatham, Sheerness, Pembroke and Haulbowline. The students are drawn entirely from among the dockyard apprentices, and are practically all the sons of workingmen. They begin to serve an apprenticeship in the dockyards at about fifteen and a half years of age, and from the first, are given a few hours off from work every week in order to attend the classes. The number of hours per week varies from five hours per week at the beginning of apprenticeship, to eight hours per week at the end. No fees are charged, and there is no sacrifice of wages. In the first year of his apprenticeship every apprentice enjoys these privileges, but in the next and all the

subsequent years only a selected proportion, which appears to work out roughly at fifty, twenty-five, ten and eight per cent. of the total number entering ; in the second, third, fourth and fifth years, respectively. No students other than those so selected are permitted to attend the classes. This sums up all the advantages over other systems which these schools enjoy, namely, free time in some proportion to the work to be done, no financial penalty, and a rigid selection of fit students to which no exception is permitted.

Otherwise the dockyard schools are rather behind than in front of others pretending to do the same work. They are under-equipped, and under-staffed. The syllabus of instruction is very narrow and except for a little elementary English there is nothing beyond the science applicable to Marine Engineering and shipbuilding. A student who developed an interest in biology, and who might be developed into a useful man in connection with deep sea fisheries, say, would be among the rejected, and would be forced to become an ordinary workman. Commercial subjects also are boycotted.

In the field to which their work is thus restricted the success in after life, of the students from these schools, has been extraordinary.

The Whitworth Scholarships have been already mentioned. They, and the Royal Scholarships in Mechanics of which about six are offered for competition every year, making a total of forty, are the only post-graduate Scholarships available outside the Universities. They have become post-graduate in character owing to the fierce competition, caused by their inadequate number. The students of the Dock-yard Schools secure almost exactly half of them every year, leaving the remainder for all the other technical schools in the country, about one hundred and fifty in number. Three successive Professors of Naval Architecture in the University of Glasgow were old Dock-yard boys. In all positions requiring high technical proficiency in Marine Engineering,

or Naval Architecture, throughout the country, the odds are about two to one that the holder received his initial training in one of these six schools.

In the last few years, there has come into existence, several varieties of what is called the "Sandwich System" of technical education. In as much as it provides for training in day classes, it is like the Dock-yard System, but the slices of the Sandwich are thicker. A typical arrangement is as follows :

The youth begins his training as an apprentice to some engineering firm somewhere about his sixteenth birthday and continues to be trained as an ordinary workman, with the usual evening classes, for two years. At the end of that time, if it is found that he has made some progress in his evening classes, he is withdrawn from the workshop for the six winter months of the four succeeding years. If he works hard and had reached Matriculation Standard (corresponding to Inter. Science in India), he may in this way become a graduate in engineering (of say the University of London) by the time he is 22 years of age. The University of London has an extensive system by which it allows "External" students to obtain its degrees by merely passing examinations, mostly on paper.

The good features of this system are :—

(a) The student begins his training with that part, that will naturally interest him most if he is temperamentally an engineer, that is to say, with the actual handling of tools and machines. It is a correct principle that tuition in any subject should not be offered until the student wants it, there is much to be said for allowing him to handle the ordinary workman's job, until he realizes that there is a great deal he will never understand, without systematic and prolonged explanation, such as no one in the workshop has time (and perhaps ability) to give him ; and by experiment in a well equipped laboratory. When that time comes, he is ripe for

the systematic course of "theoretical" instruction offered by the college.

(b) The periodical return to the workshop in the summer months is also good in two ways. The exercise is excellent for his physical development, and he is prevented from becoming too academic in his outlook. He passes from his training to the practice of his profession without break or shock.

The defects appear to be :—

(1) The total time spent in the college is too short for what has to be done. A complete college training comprises two elements which require much time. One of them is the laboratory in all science subjects and the other in drawing. A proper organization would devote as much time to them as to all other subjects combined ; but as neither contributes much to success in examinations as at present conducted, they are neglected.

(2) The apprentices from whom the Sandwich System student is selected is earning a wage, in these post-war days an important item in the cost of his living. The employer can hardly be blamed for refusing to pay it during the four winters that he is absent from the workshops. Thus, even if the tuition is free, only a small proportion of all the potential students can afford to avail themselves of it. This is the serious defect. A Dock-yard apprentice sacrifices no part of his wage by attending the day classes provided for him, and therefore only the most suitable students are selected for advanced training. On the other hand, under the Sandwich System as usually practised, the students are apprenticed with private firms, and the selection is in effect a selection of the sons of well-to-do parents, or of only sons, with very little regard to real aptitude.

HOPE AND LOVE

I

O Hope, desire's chain thou break,
 Set free my heart and mind,
 I'll lose myself in Thee, sweet Hope,
 With Him in love me bind !
 O Hope, be thou the queen serene
 To rule o'er me and all,
 What reck I if things of life
 Make me rise or make me fall.
 When raised by Hope beyond this life
 Each is each yet ever one
 With all, desires beneath thee crawl
 And thou art touched by none—
 Desires by desires spun.
 Desires may come, desires may go
 But thou art ever love,
 Thou bright, resplendent joy of life
 The same below, above.
 When Hope gives life to heart and mind
 None lose one jot, same joy all find.
 When man and man in Hope are one
 By joy immortal bond is spun.
 When all is given nothing lost
 When all is won but nothing cost.

II

O Love, thou art most lovely then
 When pride from thee is sped—
 When thou art seen as virgin joy
 Whom none can hope to wed.

When self-effacement thy hand-maid,
In lustre thine when life doth fade,
And worth of thee is nev'r weighed,
When search for self, for ever is stayed,
When I am love and love is I,
When silence's speech and speech is dumb,
When mind unminds and reason rests,
 When all may go and naught may come,,
When love is all and all is love—
The earth below and sky above.
With love death's life, without, life's death
With love hell's heaven and pain joy's breath.

MOHINIMOHAN CHATTERJI

GREAT BRITAIN IN THE MIDDLE EAST

After the Napoleonic War, when Great Britain with the support of Russia, Austria and Prussia crushed French ascendancy in Continental Europe and in India, her greatest concern was to consolidate her position in India. She devoted her energy to this ambitious work of empire-building until she established her undisputed supremacy in India, which is as large as the Continent of Europe, except Russia.

About a hundred years after the Napoleonic War, by the World War, British diplomacy with the support of France, Russia, Italy, Japan, the United States of America and many other (minor) Powers, crushed the sea-power and Colonial Empire of Germany. After eliminating Germany as the political competitor of Britain's World Empire, the British statesmen calmly began the work of consolidating British Power in the Middle East—the region between the Suez Canal and India ; and in that vast region they are following the same policy as they did in India a century ago.

One of the great concerns of the British rulers of India, during the early nineteenth century, was to play one Indian Native State against another and at the same time sign treaties of so-called alliance with some of them and to control foreign affairs of these allies, so that they would be deprived of the immense value of independent action in international relations.

Curiously enough, to-day the same policy is being pursued in the Middle East. Except in two cases, so far the British efforts in the Middle East have been entirely satisfactory and successful. The British Government under the leadership of Lord Curzon tried to conclude a treaty with Persia in 1918-1919, which if ratified by the Persian Majlis, would have reduced Persia to the position of a British vassal by according the British Government practical control over Persia's finance, army and foreign relations. Great Britain also intended to continue

a policy of converting Afghanistan into a British sphere of influence, which was agreed upon between Tsarist Russia and the British Government. But in these instances British statesmen were out-manceuvred by the Soviet Russian diplomats and the Persian and Afghan patriots. It may be added that Britain wanted to reduce Turkey to absolute impotence, through a successful Greek attack on her. But Turkey inflicted a severe blow on British diplomacy by winning over France and Soviet Russia to her side and by crushing the Greek forces in Asia.

However, Great Britain has succeeded in establishing a very firm foothold in various parts of the Middle East and it is to be expected that during the coming years, British energies will be directed to strengthen Britain's position in this region at any cost.

About a century and a half ago Britain established her political power in the province of Bengal on a solid foundation and then moved in all directions to conquer the whole of India. Similarly Britain has established supremacy in Palestine by securing British mandate over this region of supreme strategical importance. By controlling Palestine, Britain has secured her control over the Suez Canal and the Asian mainland bordering the Mediterranean, so that British naval, land and air forces would be able to co-operate in extending British power in all directions especially to the East and the South. To facilitate this work, Britain has created various Arab States, by breaking up the Ottoman Empire. These Arab States are not only inimical to one another but also are under British control. Britain is going to use these Arab States to further her own interests in the Middle East.

It is sufficient to mention that the British Government has already used Iraq as an instrument against Turkey, and at the present time the Anglo-Iraq Treaty is a direct threat against Persia. In fact, the present Anglo-Persian relations are far from cordial, because of the British support to Iraq against Persia in the controversy between the two latter States, regarding

the right of Persian citizens in Iraq and the question of the rights over Anglo-Persian Oil. The British desire to have the right of civil aviation through Persian territory and the adjustment of Persia's financial obligations to Britain, are further causes of irritation. Britain realises that the neutrality treaty between Persia and Soviet Russia may in course of time become a Treaty of Alliance. In that case Anglo-Iraq Alliance will be an effective weapon in the hands of British statesmen. Realising this necessity, British Air Forces have established themselves in Iraq and they have already demonstrated their effectiveness on various occasions. Thus Iraq is being utilised by the British Government against Persia, Turkey and other States which may adopt anti-British policy.

In the past the British Government used Ibn Saud, the present King of Hedjaz and Nedj, against the Turks. But the British authorities are suspicious of the policy of Ibn Saud, who may be thinking of taking steps to make himself more powerful and to bring about a united Arab Empire in co-operation with other Moslem powers. Thus the British authorities had to punish the underlings of Ibn Saud whose activities were anti-Iraqi and thus anti-British. To fight Ibn Saud single-handed may prove to be costly to the British authorities. Thus the British authorities are willing to conclude a so-called Treaty of Alliance with King Abdullah of Trans-Jordania, on such terms as will mean British control over the military and foreign and financial affairs of the State of Trans-Jordania. In fact, during the last few years the British Government has been paying a heavy subsidy to King Abdullah so that he will act in concert with the British in the Middle East.

If Great Britain can control Palestine, Trans-Jordania, and Iraq, then even if Ibn Saud refuse to submit to Great Britain's policy, it will not mean anything serious to British power and prestige. In fact it has been urged by many leaders among the followers of Ibn Saud that, the present hostility between the Wahabis and the Iraqis as well as the existing suspicion and

enmity between Trans-Jordania and Nedj are being fully utilised by the British in their favour and against the cause of a united and independent Arab Empire in the Middle East. The British secured supremacy in India by using Indian manpower and at the same time being able to play one Indian Native State against another. This is fully demonstrated in the work of "*The Rise of the Christian Power in India*" by Major Basu. The British authorities are to-day pursuing the same policy of using Arab man-power, strategic position and Arab rulers against one another.

The ultimate success of the British policy in the Middle East will depend upon various factors, such as international situation and primarily the development and success of the Nationalist Movement in India. If the Indian national movement attains its goal, through the co-operation of all elements of the Indian people, especially the Hindus and Moslems, then India will be able to aid effectively the cause of Arab Independence. However, the present situation in the Middle East is a distinct menace to Asian Independence and India.

TARAKNATH DAS

THE CHURCH INVISIBLE.¹

It is a strange coincidence that on this very Sunday eleven years ago, during the annual festival of the *Brāhma Samāj*—a religious denomination of just a century's standing, embodying and preaching the central truth of Unitarian Christianity in terms of Indian tradition—I was invited to deliver a ten minutes' address before 'the Brāhma Young Men's Conference' on the subject of the growing apathy among young people towards the current forms of congregational worship and other kindred functions of the *Samāj*—a topic which inevitably crops up in the history of every established Church of the world. In the case of our *Samāj*, however, it did not come a moment too soon; for it readily crystallized in the form of a legitimate grievance to be cherished by the veterans against the rising generation. What I then pleaded for was a widening of outlook which alone could read in that alleged 'apathy' a sign of the times, a symptom of that contagious fervour in the world abroad, which had inspired all youth-movements. As it struck me, there is a fundamental unity, despite all divergences, historical or otherwise, underlying these movements and exhibiting the same radicalism; and the solution of a problem, which was not by its nature parochial or sectarian could only be had by federating all these geographically insulated movements in a world-federation. The much-needed solution can only come, as I indicated in my own humble way, through an adjustment of the rights of Authority and Individuality, of Institutionalism and Mysticism by ceasing to make a fetish of the visible and established church—which is, perhaps, 'the last infirmity of noble minds'—and vesting supreme authority in a Church Invisible whose centre is everywhere but

* ¹ An address delivered at the Ethical Church, London, on the 22nd January, 1928, preceded by a reading from the text of Royce's 'Problem of Christianity,' Vol. II, pp. 428-32.

circumference nowhere. But how this apparently fantastic thing which is of a piece with 'such stuff as dreams are made of' can acquire that compelling authority is a matter of detail, and cannot profitably be entered upon here. One of these inroads, as I ventured to suggest therein, is by way of simplification of dogmas and allowance of private mysticism and freedom in the matter of interpreting these dogmas. It is gratifying to note that the questionnaire that has been issued in view of the forthcoming centenary celebrations clearly bespeaks a change in the angle of vision and signalises a move in the right direction so far as a revision and recasting of the creeds has been called for. It is premature to forecast the result of the conflicting tendencies that are destined to come to a focus against the background of a century's accumulation of fruitful experience. Nevertheless, on a careful scrutiny of the forces that have been operative during the last decade, it appears that nothing short of a re-orientation and re-valuation of our attitude towards Indian tradition and culture as a whole, in the light of the instructive errors of the past, will satisfy the requirements of this present spiritual unrest among an influential section of the members of our *Samāj*. Specifically, the tendency to shift the centre of gravity from a protestant or reactionary attitude—which is now looked upon in some quarters as an historic necessity,—to a more catholic and comprehensive one, affords an instructive comparison with that growing tendency of the Anglo-Catholic movement whose sole purpose is to make the Christian Church broad-based. What recent controversies in the Christian Church have made plain and what we can unhesitatingly affirm, without speaking 'evil of the dignities' or meaning any the least disrespect to a laudable motive inspiring the whole movement, is that no definite ground seems to have been gained in this centuries old trench-warfare, or to put it more mildly, that the so-called common platform had been raised on shifting quicksand merely. In such a transitional stage—a stage of a dubious conflict of ideals—when no definite vantage-ground is

in sight, there is a general tendency to invoke an 'interim religion' devised to meet the exigencies of the situation. A rigid and inflexible orthodoxy will not, however, tolerate the intrusion of such a disruptive factor in the interest of historic continuity of the Church as an institution. But the institutionalists have yet to reckon the home-truth, which has been so often lost upon them, that in matters pertaining to the spirit, it is flexibility, and not rigidity, that ensures the continued existence and welfare of a Church. A Church that is living justifies its own being by ceaselessly developing and ministering to the growing needs of its members. To stereotype a particular form or to arrest its growth at a particular point is to court sure death. Here as elsewhere, 'we must run, like glittering brooks, else noxious.' If the continuous adaptation to environment is the unmistakable sign of life and if 'development,' which is the law of life, is always 'by breaks and yet makes for continuity,' why should it be otherwise in the spiritual world? As Prof. Wallace, in elucidating the point puts it so finely: "The reader of the *Divina Commedia* may hardly need to be reminded that at each of the grander changes of scene and grade in his pilgrimage, Dante suddenly finds himself without obvious means transported into a new region of experience. There are catastrophes in the process of development; not unprepared, but summing up in a flash of insight, the gradual and unperceived process of growth." ¹ In life and logic, as all enlightened opinion will agree, water does always run higher than its source or the conclusion go beyond the premises. Hence it is that youth as the fuller minstrel of the Life of the Spirit of which the visible and established Church professes to be the agent and custodian, has always fought strenuously against fossilization that begins to creep into a Church sooner or later. In so doing it has to adopt sometimes a policy of '*laissez faire*' or secession, or sometimes an actively hostile or iconoclastic

¹ Prolegomena to Hegel's Logic, 2nd edition, p. 476.

attitude against the excesses and vagaries of Church institutionalism, but seldom in a spirit of Quixotic sentimentalism, irresponsible criticism or unmitigated vandalism. An interim religion or ethics is not always the evidence of religious indifferentism or moral opportunism, but may even be born of a stainless allegiance to the Church Invisible to which it is the soul of the young that is always attuned.

From the very dim dawn of recorded history, such has been the unique mission and privilege of youth—to ‘strive, and hold cheap the strain,’—yes, to ‘strive through acts uncouth toward making, than repose on aught found made.’ That is why, Tagore, the poet of impetuous and impenitent youth, hails ‘the expedition of the Ever-green’ (*sabujer abhijān*) through the ever-recurring Cycle of Spring and invites it to keep time to the cadence of creation to ‘the unmixed joy of detaching oneself and gliding away and of breaking.’¹ (*Pārbīnā ki yog dite ei chhanderay Khasē jābār, vesē jābār, bhāngbāri ei anandē rē*). This is the priceless legacy of those that dare to be wise and be ‘the trumpet of a prophecy’ ‘to unawakened earth.’ Theirs indeed is the privilege of sinning and whatever the sins of commission, ‘the sin of unlit lamp and ungirt loin’ may not be imputed to them. We may wonder and even deplore that there should be this conditioning of good by evil, or this indispensable prelude of destruction to the story of creation. But it is sheer perversity to imagine that good can exist for a finite creature except as the conquest of evil or that creation can be conceived except as the other side of destruction. Thus the apparently destructive mission of youth has always the pledge of a renewed existence, and like Shelley’s ‘West Wind’ shatters ‘dead thoughts’ ‘like withered leaves’ only ‘to quicken a new birth.’

Youth, as we understand it here, is not however an event, but a ‘quality’ of the human life. To such a fellowship of

¹ Geetanjali (Bengali edition), No. 37.

youth belong all creative artists and geniuses ; in short, all 'heroes' in the Carlylean sense—a Tagore, a Schweitzen, a Romain Rolland, a Benedetto Croce, a Felix Adler, an L. P. Jacks, a Josiah Royce and other honoured names on the roll of the ministering priests of the Church Invisible.

Is not this so-called 'Church Invisible,' it might be pertinently asked, something out and out mystical? Bereft of 'a local habitation' and 'moving about in a world not realised' does it fare any better than the Stoic cosmopolitanism with its unwavering faith in a citizenship of the world? Mystical undoubtedly it is ; but none the less secure for it—being in point of fact :—

“built to music
Therefore never built at all,
And therefore built for ever.”

Moreover far from being a term of reproach or disparagement, mysticism is the best asset of religion, calculated to serve the best interests even of churchmanship and institutionalism. If "religion is," as Prof. Whitehead tells us,¹ "what the individual does with his solitariness," then surely mysticism is the very soul of religion. But the social disconnexion or solitariness which is a necessary phase of mysticism is not, however, the last word about it. In its true character, "mysticism is just the redemption of solitude ;" it is only pseudo-mystics that remain unto the last ego-centric and anti-social or anti-congregational. In point of fact, nearness to God and nearness to man are but two aspects of one and the same process ; for, as Eucken observed, "God and man initially meet where man is most inward" in the 'Gemüth,' to use his own expression (which perfectly corresponds to the "Gusa" of the Upanishads) where man is truly individual. Such is the higher individualism or egoism (which is but

¹ Religion in the Making.

another name of universalism) that has been taught in one of our best known theistic Upanishads: "He who sees all creatures in one Self and the one Self in all creatures can no longer remain hidden or exclusive" (*yastu sarvāṇi bhūtāni atmanyebhānupaśyati sarvabhuteshu cātmānam tato na vījugupsatē*). This is exactly the sense in which Bosanquet speaks of "self-recognition" as "another phrase for the religious consciousness"¹—the recognition, namely, by the finite of its "true being" in "union with the whole" and "identification by faith with the greatness of the universe." So construed, it is "the justification by faith,"—a phrase more often sinned against than sinning—which the very essence of religion. Accordingly the inherent futility and self-contradiction of a self-centred life becomes nowhere more glaringly apparent than in the effort to stand alone in religious convictions, in which, after all, we are bound up with the entire world. "This is," as Lotze rightly says,² "the one respectable root of religious fanaticism. For, what we ourselves recognise as the highest would not be so, unless it were recognised as such by all." But quite apart from this over-individual or community aspect of religion, religious mysticism has an intrinsic worth of its own and constitutes, at least, one significant strand of the Christian church—viz., "the Augustinian tradition which," according to a noted authority,³ "has been the source of most that is best in English philosophy, no less than in English divinity." Such a mysticism, in spite of a danger-zone encircling it, has been, down the course of centuries, invoked by the highest dignitaries of the church in the best interests of churchmanship—from St. Augustine down to the Very Revd. Dean of St. Paul's. "I want," exclaimed St. Augustine, "to know God and my own soul: these two things and no third whatever;" while the Dean

¹ Value and Destiny of the Individual, pp. 18, 20, 308.

² Outlines of a Philosophy of Religion, p. 166.

³ Prof. A. E. Taylor, on "F. H. Bradley," Mind, No. 133, p. 12.

of St. Paul's gave, perhaps with a full sense of the responsibility of his office, the verdict that the aberrations or exaggerations of institutionalism have been, and are, more dangerous and further removed from the spirit of Christianity than those of mysticism."¹ What the Dean said so authoritatively about Christianity applies *mutatis mutandis* to the case of all religion worth the name. In support of this contention, we can do no better than refer to a similar authoritative statement made by the poet Tagore in his address to his fellow Churchmen just a year before the Dean penned those lines. The statements are so strikingly similar that the one by the poet deserves quotation *in extenso*. "In the Brāhma Samāj, however, there is no hard and fast rule of keeping the character of man hide-bound in all conceivable ways. That is why we so often deplore that the character of our children is getting loose from day to day. Nevertheless, we have to submit to the inevitable inconvenience of this kind of uncertainty and indefiniteness; but it is against the very spirit of the Brāhma Samāj to invoke and submit to the vital mischief sought by institutional over-definiteness."² This he re-affirmed³ some twelve years later in its general applicability thus: "However much we may bewail the fact that the character of our children is getting lax and cannot find shelter in an ideal, our modern education forbids us to revert to the still worse over-confinement of Orthodoxy as a remedy." It is remarkable how two representative thinkers of the East and the West in modern times, following independent lines of reflection, converge at a point of fundamental agreement as to the essentials of religion.

Secondly, it is the agnostic element in mysticism which has repulsed not a few who do otherwise take kindly to it. But such an agnosticism or 'learned ignorance' as it has been sometimes called, is the crown and consummation of every consider-

¹ Hibbert Journal, 1912-13, on "Mysticism and Institutionalism."

² From Samahaya or a Collection of Essays, in which the essay containing this passage appears in original Bengali.

³ Visva-Bharati Quarterly, Oct. 1923, Notes and Comments.

able religion and is the peculiar heritage of all mystical writers, Christian and non-Christian, according to whom 'a comprehended God is no God.' To barter away this much-prized agnosticism for a cheap gnosticism, is to sell the very birth-right of religion for a mess of pottage. 'What discredits religion,' writes Principal L. P. Jacks,¹ 'is not the unknowableness of God, but the knowableness of Mumbo-Jumbo.' There must needs ever be the 'cloud of unknowing' on the face of the Highest that we know and worship.

Lastly, exception has been taken to it on the ground that the mystic is the only thorough-going empiricist.² Admittedly the whole meaning of religion does not lie merely in the 'varieties of religious experience,' intended presumably to be on the exhibit as so many curios at the road-side shop-window or perhaps at a more respectable museum or cabinet of antiquities. Without subscribing to a radical empiricism on the point, and with a little reservation or modification, we have yet to reckon that experience in its integrity or '*anubhava*,' as it is called in Indian thought, has an irresistible appeal, and for the matter of that an important place, in our religious convictions and creeds. This is particularly the point which the Modernist stresses in his bold and penetrative appeal, *viz.*, a re-valuation of religion as experience rather than dogma. A steadily growing emphasis on the need of an empirical approach to religion seems to be also the immediate goal of the converging lines of reflection in many quarters of contemporary thought. This enthusiasm for 'experience' can, however, be easily overdone, and made to appear as the protest of the 'heart' against "the freezing reason's colder part," of faith or belief against knowledge and to launch a campaign against the authority of the intellect. The text of anti-intellectualism is, as pointedly enunciated by Pascal, that 'the heart has its reasons, of which the reason knows nothing.' To drive in a wedge thus

¹ Realities and Shams, p. 19.

² Boyce, The World and the Individual, Vol. I.

between the two sides of human nature 'conduces neither to the interest of faith nor of reason ; and to dethrone reason from its central position or even to set up a rival authority spells disaster for both. A house divided against itself cannot stand ; nor does ' man ever find rest by thus balancing himself first on one leg and then on another.' The frontier quarrels between Authority and Reason, Dogma and Free thinking, can never be ended so long as we indulge light-heartedly in a campaign against the reason or intellect which is our only availing resource and guide. The solution of this age-long conflict is feasible, if we keep our feet firm on the highway of reason through which humanity has travelled for ages and studiously avoid the slippery by-path of anti-intellectualism or emotionalism that leads nowhere. Such an imported dualism in human nature which has a functional unity is essentially a surrender to scepticism and subjectivism, pure and simple, which undermine the roots of religion as well as morals. Hence the importance of Hegel's warning : ' We must have God in our hearts, not in our feelings merely.' By this conscious departure from established usage, what Hegel insinuates is the folly of perpetuating an opposition between the head and the heart and implies that although the organ of religious apprehension cannot be feeling, a rational apprehension of the central truth of religion is not, however, bereft of a feeling-tone or elements of will. Although a sworn foe of mysticism and an ardent champion of rationalism, he never meant to commit himself to a narrow one-sided intellectualism, as is clearly evidenced by a significant exclamation of his : ' Oh, unhappy age, which must content itself merely with being continually told that there is a God.'¹ An anecdote of his life furnishes the ablest commentary on the specific character of Hegel's rationalism. Hegel, as the report goes, was not in the habit of attending church services, but would observe

¹ *Philosophy of Religion*, Part I, p. 229.

the Sabbath by sitting at his desk and composing his epoch-making works. One day when his land-lady, a God-fearing pious woman, out of solicitude for the salvation of the soul of that godless(?) man asked him as to why he abstained from attendance at church services, the latter is said to have replied : 'Thinking also is Divine service' (*Denken ist auch Gottesdienst*).

Thus the decentralisation of reason, and a corresponding accentuation of 'feelings' are pitfalls to be avoided. The rank subjectivism and individualism, inherent in an anti-intellectualist or anti-rational trend of thought terminate eventually in a vicious 'psychologism' or crude naturalism which cuts through the vital nerve of every healthy type of religion, morals or of mysticism, which, as I take it, is the uniting ground of the two. Such a typical psychologism we meet with in so eminent a thinker as Prof. Alexander, according to whom, God is what we worship. No wonder that he should be drawn to pay a rather left-handed compliment to the Ethical Societies which, though 'admirable institutions' in themselves, to quote his very words, do not provide for "the brute sentiment for deity" without which "we should never arrive at religion."¹ But it is hardly necessary to dilate here on the point that the Ethical Societies do not in the least arrogate to themselves the function which belongs to the Ethical Church.

Such a subjectivism or individualism has been the crying curse and standing fallacy of every period of Illumination or *Aufklärung* as the Germans call it, in the history of human thought and culture. The watch-word of the Greek illumination, as initiated by the Sophists was, as we all know, the characteristic doctrine of *Homo Mensura* or man as the measure of all things. In an age of critical reflection or free thinking and of general disorganization and

¹ Space, Time and the Deity, Vol. II, p. 407.

disintegration, such a doctrine, by reason of its intense humanism makes a ready appeal to our much too receptive heart. In spite of this redeeming feature, the ingrained ethical subjectivism or individualism of such a doctrine stood unmasked in the Sophists' acceptance of it, and drew forth from the great pioneer humanist, Socrates, the much needed corrective to this lack of centralisation and balance in the individualistic, or what is the same thing, the unethical humanism of the Sophists. It was not *my* thought or *my* reason, as Socrates pointed out so ably, but *my thought* or *reason* which is intrinsically objective and universally legislative, that alone can, in any ethical reference, supply the supreme norm of conduct. The same is the case with the English, the German, and the French Illumination—the climax being reached, as is always the case, in the French form of it with its characteristic apotheosis 'of the sensation of the moment' as the standard of appeal in knowledge and morals of which it might not inaptly be said: 'After us the deluge.' That was indeed the logic of Omar Khayyam as embodied in the exhortation: "Take the cash in hand and let the credit go"—the inevitable motto of the life of an epicurè pledged to a *carpe diem* rule of life. Such a counsel, far from being a counsel of perfection, is the guiding principle of an individual or a community that is heading straight towards moral and religious bankruptcy.

Hence the relative use and importance of dogmas as the bulwark against the advancing tide of subjectivism, in all its sinister implications, which sets in sooner or later in the history of the church or general culture of a nation. The word 'dogma,' because of its past abuses and other degrading associations, has come to figure as a veritable 'red rag' to the bull of free thinking, rationalism or the Protestant 'right of private judgment.' This appeal to faith in dogmas may be construed as a return to Authority, which is directly running counter to the spirit of the times (*zeitgeist*), to the very spirit of modernism in

thought and culture—modern philosophy, itself, being “Protestantism in the sphere of the thinking spirit,” the story of a pilgrimage from Authority to Freedom. But freedom from what?—Not surely an ‘unchartered freedom’ to drift endlessly which after all ‘tires’ and cannot, humanly speaking, be sought for its own sake. While fully admitting that the spirit of Protestantism has not merely an historic justification but an importance for all times, it is incumbent on us to take stock sometimes of the net results accruing from the exercise of the right of private judgment in all matters affecting the welfare of the spirit. It is, confessedly, difficult in the extreme to withstand the spell of modernism or the witchcraft of the magic word ‘freedom’ which so often hypnotises us, and take our bearings to find out if we have not in the extravagance of enthusiasm overshot the mark. It is all the more imperative because, as we know, all reactions are radical, and we may, not infrequently, be losing the substance in trying to catch at a shadow. There is an obvious danger in perpetually whetting a knife, when there is nothing to cut, for it may, for aught we know, recoil upon those who wield it. The institution of authority or rehabilitation of dogmas is not, however, antagonistic to the ends of free thinking, when their respective relations are viewed in a proper perspective. The function of a dogma is, mainly limitative or prohibitive—prescribing the limits beyond which the religious imagination or private mysticism may not in its indispensable interpretative function, go astray. It works not by mechanical dictation but by illuminating inspiration—not by annexing or annulling the right of private judgment or mysticism, but by appealing and giving ungrudging recognition to it. A dogma is never meant to be forced, as the phrase goes, down the throat of the members that belong to a particular church. It owns allegiance to the dogmas of which it is the custodian, not by invoking to its aid a supernatural machinery or authority, but by always making its appeal to the natural light of reason. So one can subscribe

to a dogma without being a dogmatist. Even one of the most orthodox of the philosophic thinkers of the East, *Samkara*, comparable in his orthodoxy to St. Thomas of Aquino or St. Anselm of the Christian Church, observed that "if a man were to accept uncritically or indiscriminately any one of the conflicting creeds, he would be dispossessed of beatitude and hurled into evil." ¹ Thus the so-called opposition between Authority and Reason, between Faith and Knowledge, between Dogma and Experience, when seen in its truer perspective, resolves itself into 'a contrast between the private consciously acting reason of the individual and the historic reason in which is summed up the experience of the race.' ² Rightly viewed, the dogmas of a church stand as the capitalised spiritual experience of the race, having an intrinsic rationality of their own and awaiting confirmation in the personal experience of an individual. As Prof. Radhakrishnan puts it so happily, 'what is dogma to the ordinary man is experience to the pure in heart.' ³ 'What the Church can, and does, enjoin is a provisional belief in or acceptance of the dogmas only to be brought in the end into a luminous personal focus. So the faith in question is impersonal to begin with, and ends by being personal, and thus the whole process may be viewed as a personalisation of faith. Dogma is thus experience in the making and 'faith' is but 'reason cultivating itself.' Should such a faith offend ?

There is, confessedly, the danger of possible abuse of the spirit in which dogmas are to be accepted, and the dogmas instead of acting as an asset may prove to be a handicap and deadweight in the religious life of man. So the modern man, grown wiser by past experience, may be uncompromising in his demand and be determined to do without dogmas of any kind. But this we cannot consent

¹ '*Tatṛāvichāryya yat kimchit pratipadyamāno nīhreyasāt pratihanyētanarīhamchēyāt*'
—Commentary on Vedānta-sūtras.

² Pringle Pattison, 'Idea of God,' pp. 62-3.

³ Indian Philosophy, Vol. I, p. 51.

to do without grave mutilation or sheer starvation of our moral and religious susceptibilities, nor is the determination sane and far-sighted. Ever since the time when Prometheus stole fire from heaven all the vitally important things of human existence have been discovered to be a source of danger ; but no one outside Bedlam could regard that a sufficient excuse for banishing fire from our earthly sphere. If, as we believe, it is spirit that can bear witness to spirit, it is this corporate experience as the heritage of the past, and dogmas as the embodiments of intuitions of religious mystics and seers handing on the torch of illumination from age to age, that alone can be the instructor in matters spiritual. Without this inheritance the individuals will have to start upon their career of religious and moral probation as so many bankrupts, and remain so to the end of their career without the hope of ever being solvent. Here, as elsewhere, 'to him that hath more shall be given.'

Even the more moderate demand of the modernist for a simplification of dogmas as a rebound from dogmatic intolerance must not be pressed too far ; for, as Prof. Whitehead than whom there is perhaps no greater champion of free thinking rightly observes, 'all simplifications of religious dogma are shipwrecked upon the rock of the problem of evil.'¹ That is really the acid test which exposes the inherent weakness, 'the sham heroism' of stoic fortitude or resignation or 'the living acquiescence' which the 'God-intoxicated' Spinoza exalted so much. Nowhere is the insufficiency of ethical subjectivism or moral idealism conjoined to a one-sided, exclusive intellectualism, rendered more flagrant than in these two typical cases. Shakespeare, with his master touch, has laid his finger precisely on this weak spot in his treatment of the classical world of heroes. When Brutus, having gone through a series of misfortunes and discomfitures, learnt on the eve of

¹ Religion in the Making.

one of the most decisive battles he was going to fight, of 'the insupportable and touching loss of Portia,' his stoic heart burst and he confided in a strain of intense pathos to his intimate friend.

'O Cassius! I am sick of many griefs.'

But Cassius sought to rally him round with an effective appeal to his philosophic professions.

"Of your philosophy you make no use.

If you give place to accidental evils:—"

Here is a tragic failure of moral idealism, or 'subjective' religion of which stoicism, along with Buddhism, has been regarded the classic example. Buddhism, however, avoids this pitfall by emphasising the conception of an Order in the so-called 'three Jewels': "I betake myself to Lord Buddha (*buddham śaranam gacchāmi*); I take shelter in the Teaching or the Ethical Law (*dharmam śaranam gacchāmi*); I join the (Holy) Order (*samgham śaranam gacchāmi*).

Again, Spinoza who would consistently live up to what he taught in his ethics, signally failed to sustain his intellectual aristocratism on one historic occasion. Good and evil, he taught, are incidental to the finite and temporal point of view and they cease to exist as such, when viewed in their theoretical necessity or under the form of eternity (*sub specie æternitatis*). But when he heard the news of the most brutal and cold-blooded murder of his two intimate friends, the De Witt brothers, he was about to rush from his house and denounce the dastardly murder publicly on the very spot and in the face of the fanatical mob that had perpetrated it. He was only prevented from this desperate act—which might have resulted in his sharing the fate of his friends—by his well-meaning landlord who locked him up in his own room. Our reverence for the cloistered philosopher, who had never allowed his characteristic philosophic calm to be ruffled by contingent and accidental evils of our temporal

existence, increases all the more as we reckon with the truth that

“ This rage was right in the main,
That acquiescence vain : ”

—an ‘acquiescence’ to which he stood committed in virtue of his own persuasions in philosophy. One may try, however, to palliate these two cases of failure as the generous errors of moral idealists or as the characteristic sin of ‘cloistered virtue’ which does not stand us in good stead in the arena of life. But the sin I should like ‘to impute to each frustrate ghost’ is that of ethical subjectivism which sees the triumph of good over evil as being carried out only in the soul of man but not in the world abroad and refuses to regard the ethical values as in any sense ultimate and objective. This is exactly the same fallacy that lurks in ‘a free man’s worship’ of which Mr. Bertrand Russell is the exponent in our own day, following the lead of Spinoza and the Stoics. Although destined to rank as one of the best masterpieces of English Literature in respect of its ‘austere beauty,’ ‘a free man’s worship exhibits a sham heroism’ in ‘the gospel of unyielding despair’ on which it seeks to build religion. This is an inevitable sequel to his belief that ‘the elimination of ethical considerations from philosophy is an ethical advance.’ He would have discovered the bed-rock of religion, and a truer conception of the relation between the human and the divine in the fruitful conception of God ‘as the mystic unity of what is and what should be’ which, however, it is a pity he did not stop to probe deeper. If he did, he could see the salvage of religious beliefs, not in an elimination of ethical considerations, not in ethical subjectivism or inethical parochialism looking upon the moral laws as the provincialism of this planet ; but in ethical mysticism as the immediate revelation of the Divine. This, as I take it, may very well be the religion of a Rationalist.

Founding, as we do, our conception of the Church Invisible on an ethical Mysticism which reveals the eternal verities of this universe that are at the same time laid deep down in 'the human heart by which we live,' it will be readily seen that it is not staked upon something precarious or provisional. It is the symbol and expression of the eternal communion—the Beloved Community, as Royce calls it—into which one may enter of his free will. Its function is to remind men always that the visible Church is only a human institution and of 'the folly of any church which claims to be the only way of salvation.' Its chief importance lies in its deliverance from 'institutional selfishness,'¹—selfishness, either in an individual or collective aspect,—of man as an ethical, social or political unit. This is the very soul of religion and the undying fire 'of dying to live' which the Founder of Christianity typifies in himself. Although mystical, it is no remote theological mystery, but, God be thanked, inwoven with the very texture of human experience.² It is at least no more mystical than the simple phenomena of love and loyalty in which we remain loyal to the object of our love and devotion though unseen. Hegel, however, has no patience with this way of Christ whom he ridicules as 'the social mystic' and accuses him of the guilt of innocence—'one who demanded of his friends that they should forsake father and mother, and all that they had. If any one take thy coat, let him have thy cloak also.' It is this aspect of heroic renunciation in the life and teaching of Christ—a Life that came to minister and not to be ministered unto—that has, however, its perennial appeal for the oriental mind. It may not be the historical Jesus, but it is the spiritual Christ and is, not, after all, the latter that counts in a religious reference. The conception of the

¹ A phrase so happily coined by Principal L. P. Jacks and commented upon with such bold and penetrative appeal in the last chapter of his book 'Realities and Shams' bearing the title 'Institutional Selfishness.'

² Compare the injunction embodied in the opening verse of the *Isopanishad*, 'enjoy in and through renunciation' (*tena tvaktena vunjithāh*)—a precept to which Goethe would so often subscribe, as being drawn thereto by 'elective affinity.'

Church Invisible has its special efficacy in putting an end to the age-long controversy that has raged round the question of the historicity of Jesus Christ by pointing out clearly that nothing historical can, *as such*, be the object of our loving devotion unless it be the embodiment and exemplification of a spiritual idea. As one distinguished Unitarian Christian writer truly says¹: “We are saved by the Jesus who came, not by the Christ who has not come. The only Jesus who ever existed at all was the non-Messianic Jesus of human history, the teacher, the prophet, the friend of man, the martyr.” ‘Ring in the Christ that is to be’²—is the standing testimony to the spiritual Christ who has not yet come. Such is also the verdict of the East that can never rest satisfied with the institutional (I avoid the term ‘European’ advisedly, for it is my conviction that all geographical distinctions are irrelevant in this context) side-view of the historical Jesus and has ever accepted and revered an ‘Oriental Christ.’

It is this very conception of the Church Invisible that alone can guarantee the realisation of the cult of internationalism, the pathway to which lies not along the road of nationalism or consolidation of national or exclusive interests. We are told that the culture or civilisation of the present day is national in its roots, but international in its outlook—verily like the tree that has its roots struck deep down into the soil, while its branches spread far and wide into the sky above. But mischief lies always at the root. A Parliament or a Federation of Mankind must remain an idle dream, until and unless the making of the international mind is an accomplished fact; and this can only come about under the perpetual inspiration and watchful care of a Church Invisible. That is why our Scriptures declare that this antique, holy fig tree (symbolising the Infinite and the Eternal) has its roots in heaven and its branches spreading

Dr. C. R. Bowen in *Freedom and Truth*, ed. by J. E. Carpenter, p. 214.
Tennyson, ‘In Memoriam.’

earthwards.¹ East and West can, and shall, never meet on any other condition but only and for ever in their common allegiance to the Church Invisible. In the spiritual economy of the world, there can be no senseless duplication of functions. It is because, and so far, East is East and West is West, that they can, and must, meet. The very atmosphere of this room, consecrated by the visible representation of two of the noblest samples of humanity,² sounds the 'trumpet of a prophecy' to an as yet 'unwakened earth'—not merely a prophecy fulfilling itself in some problematic future, but a living testimony to an eternal fellowship or meeting between the two on which alone, be it remembered, depend 'peace on earth and good will towards men.' Such a consummation, however, is no mere dream of future possibility, of some 'far-off divine event,' but is verily the everlasting Real, no mere vague sentimentalism of the Futurist, but something dwelling 'nearer than our hands and feet' as the abiding presence and persuasion of the Soul of souls.' 'So to live is heaven' assuredly; not to strain one's eyes and ears into the remote and the future but to live one's life perpetually attuned to the 'choir invisible of heroes' 'whose music is the gladness of the world.' There can be no other genuine enthusiasm for Humanity and no greater reverence for its ministering priests or prophets on whom the perpetual benediction of a Church Invisible broods like 'a Presence not to be put by.' Let those that have eyes to see and ears to hear preach to those that have not, and thus shall we earn the privilege to 'ring the fuller minstrel in' and inherit the bliss of 'the Golden Year' of which Tennyson had a fleeting vision when he sang so fervidly—

" Ah, when shall all man's good
Be each man's rule, and universal peace
Lie like a shaft of light across the land,
And like a lane of beams athwart the sea,
Thro' all the circle of the golden year ? "

¹ 'Urdhvamūlo' abākīakha ēsho'āśvatthah sanātanaḥ.'

² Viz., of Jesus and Buddha on either side of the pulpit in the Ethical Church which account for this local touch.

Almost involuntarily do we repeat: 'Ah, when?'—Not until we shall have discerned in all visible Church and other human institutions the progressive revelation of the Church Invisible as the very symbol and guarantee of that human unity or solidarity which veritably is, and not merely something evermore about to be.

SAROJ KUMAR DAS

WHEN LOVE COMES

Once, ignorant and free, I thought love came
All blossom-decked and laughing in the sun
With joyous face, to claim me radiantly.
Now, wiser and enchained, I know that love
Comes never thus, nor stays in fair disguise,
As Spring transforms the barren hills, and earth
Sings ere the summer wanes, and winter's cold
Turns gold to grey and tender Spring is mute.
Love is not alone Spring's season, fragile,
Fair and fugitive, but all life's seasons;
From the year's first blooming until its close!
Love knows no season, wears no livery,
Nor dances gaily with the flowered throng
Of Spring; but bears the fullness of divine
Maturity, half-sensed, and waking in the soul
An echo of infinity, that speaks
In voice too God-like for the fleeting Spring's
First fruitage, and its evanescent hopes.

LILY S. ANDERSON

SECOND CHAMBERS

(*A comparative study.*)

Of the three factors of Government—the Legislature, the Executive, and the Judiciary—the Legislature occupies the most important position. In a modern representative democracy, it constitutes really the pivot of the whole administrative system. “From the nature of its functions, the legislature must be in a certain way supreme over the other two organs, since it belongs to the legislature to lay down the general rules, which the judiciary has to apply, and in conformity to which the executive has to work, while again, so far as it regulates public finance, the legislature must exercise a *general control* over all the operations of government that involve expenditure.”¹ Thus “the legislature not only commands the purse, but prescribes the rules by which the duties and rights of every citizen are to be regulated.”² Again in a responsible form of government, the executive is not a body separate from the legislature. It is, in reality, a committee of the legislature itself and is responsible to, and removable by, it. The enforcement of this accountability is one of the primary functions of the modern legislature. To discharge this duty, it has to remain wide-awake and vigilant. It has to act constantly as a watch-dog.

Now invested as the legislature is with such vital functions of government, its composition and construction naturally comes in for a good deal of attention at the hands of statesmen and political scientists. The making of law is far too an important business to be discharged in a hasty, half-hazard fashion. It involves the determination of, “not what the will of the people commands, but what the reason of the people, the

common consciousness, demands. The legislature must be so constructed as best to fulfil this purpose. Now the interpretation of the common consciousness is a far more difficult matter than the registry of the popular will. It requires research, reasoning, the balancing of opinions and interests, the classification of facts and the generalization of principles. A single body of men is always in danger of adopting hasty and one-sided views, of accepting facts upon insufficient tests, of being satisfied with incomplete generalizations, and of mistaking happy phrases for sound principles.”¹ A unicameral legislature may launch upon a new measure in a moment of heat and passion—a measure that sober thoughts and calmer reason would always discard. Besides in these days of universal suffrage, a single-chambered legislature would always be in close and intimate touch with the unbridled demos and might in a moment of popular enthusiasm embark on a policy that would be quite revolutionary and subversive in its effect. It seems, therefore, quite reasonable that the popular House of the Legislature must not have an unchecked supremacy over the laws and policy of the state. There must be some check upon its action. We should set up “a counterpoise to democratic fervour,” and make the provision of “an appeal from Philip drunk to Philip sober.”² Now once it is established that some check upon the power of the popular assembly is essential in a well-framed constitution, the question would at once arise as to where it is to be found and how it is to be provided. The modern thinkers and statesmen are to-day almost unanimous in holding that this check is to be found “in the creation of a second assembly capable of criticizing, amending, and, if need be, rejecting measures passed by the other chamber.”³ Hence a legislature should be bicameral in structure, so that the action of the one House may be reviewed and

¹ J. W. Burgess, *Political Science and Comparative Constitutional Law*, Vol. II, p. 106.

² J. A. R. Marriott, *Second Chambers* (1910), p. 5.

³ Lord Bryce, *Modern Democracies*, Vol. II, p. 437.

revised in another. "Single-chamber government, it is assumed, is the apotheosis of democratic rashness. We need a brake on the wheel. We need a mechanism that enables us to delay the first, rough impulses of a body fresh from its contact with the electorate and eager in its inexperience, to embrace every kind of novelty. A Second Chamber provides exactly this safeguard."¹ It may be argued that if we need so seriously a safeguard against democratic rashness, a legislature of three chambers would better serve our purpose. But if a unicameral legislature inclines too much to radicalism, one of three chambers or more could incline too much to conservatism. The true mean between conservatism and progress would be best secured by the legislature of two chambers.² The two Houses would much often be engaged in a sort of natural and healthy rivalry, and each could subject the measures emanating from the other to a careful scrutiny and criticism. This conflict of views between the two chambers would supply the safeguard against hasty and ill-digested legislation.³ Thus "the same reason which induced the Romans to have two consuls makes it desirable that there should be two chambers: that neither of them may be exposed to the corrupting influence of undivided power, even for the space of a single year."⁴ It is noteworthy that Second Chamber is to-day almost a universal feature of representative government. The gilded House at Westminster may be an accidental survival of medieval institutions. But the second chamber in the legislatures of the other modern states has been a deliberate creation. The constitution-makers in every country, however inspired they might have been by democratic ideals, pinned their faith to checks and balances. They did not think it advisable to entrust the legislative function of government to one popular House alone.⁵

¹ H. J. Laski, *A Grammar of Politics*, p. 328.

² Burgess, *Political Science and Comparative Constitutional Law*, Vol. II, p. 107.⁵

³ *Ibid.*, p. 107.

⁴ • J. S. Mill, *Representative Government*.

⁵ In France "this Bicameral system does not accord with Republican traditions for the First and the Second Republics, like the Third Republic down to 1876, were governed

As a check upon the authority of this chamber, they instituted a second deliberative body. As a result, the legislatures of all the important states are to-day bicameral in structure. A measure, before it is finally accepted, has to undergo a vigilant examination in both the chambers.

In Federal States, the second chamber serves an additional and a more vital purpose still. A Federal union constitutes really an effective compromise between the centripetal and the centrifugal forces in a country. It is a mechanism to reconcile the separatist tendencies with the unifying forces in a land. A second chamber in the national legislature comes out to be indispensable in the creation of such a half-way House. "The smaller States had to be persuaded to relinquish their complete equality of representation with the larger States; the larger States had to be coaxed into making concessions to the smaller."¹ In order to meet this difficult problem—the problem of allaying the fears of the minor states and tickling the vanity of the major ones, the national legislature has to be constructed on a bicameral basis. The lower House would represent the people of the different component parts according to their numerical strength. As such, this House is expected to be the exponent of the nation-idea in the country. The upper House could be constructed on a different principle altogether. It is to represent not the people but the different component parts in their corporate capacity. On this body all the states, irrespective of their size and numerical strength, are to be represented equally. It is meant to be the upholder of the separate identity of the states. Thus, it is pertinent to observe that "whatever may be affirmed of unitary States,

by single chambers. But to the Monarchists in the National Assembly an upper House, sheltered from the direct play of universal suffrage, seemed essential as a barrier to democracy."—Edward M. Sait, *Government and Politics of France* (1920), p. 123. The constitution-makers concentrated their attention so much on the second chamber in 1875, that M. de Belcastel once observed, "The constitution of 1875 is first of all a Senate."—Quoted in p. 124, *ibid.*

¹ H. J. Ford, *The Rise and Growth of American Politics*, p. 48.

bi-cameralism would appear to be an essential and inseparable attribute of federalism. More than that, it is in the Senate or upper chamber of Federal Commonwealths that the federal idea is enshrined ; in that chamber is to be found the primary and effective guarantee for the preservation of this peculiar type of constitution.”¹ Without the bait of their equality of voice in the second chamber, the smaller states would not agree to enter the union. The danger of being swamped by the larger states would far outweigh the other considerations and overshadow the real merits of the union. “ The jealousy of the smaller states would have been too powerful even for the genius and tact and patience of Alexander Hamilton. It was the idea of equal representation in the Senate which reconciled the smaller states to federal-union with the larger, and in the Senate state rights are and from the first, have been, enshrined and guaranteed.”² The position of the second chamber in a federal union is hence quite unique. It serves here a double purpose. It acts as an ordinary revising and reviewing body in the central legislature and at the same time is based on the principle of state separatism as opposed to unified nationalism.

Now while in unitary states the second chamber has been found to be necessary and in the central Government of a federal union indispensable, “ the legislatures of the component states, cantons or provinces of Federal Commonwealths are in a class apart and demand separate consideration. Here a Second Chamber is the exception rather than the rule.”³ Of course, “ an American State legislature always consists of two houses,”⁴ and all the Australian States except Queensland, possess a bi-cameral legislature. All the provinces of Canada,

¹ J. A. R. Marriott, *The Mechanism of the Modern State*, Vol. I, p. 409.

² *Ibid*, pp. 413-14.

³ *Ibid*, p. 409.

⁴ Bryce, *The American Commonwealth* (Revised edition, 1919), Vol. I, p. 484.

however, excepting Quebec and Nova Scotia, have a single-chambered legislature. Sixteen of the Swiss Cantons and more than half the Component States of the German Reich also possess a uni-cameral legislature.¹ It is, of course, not difficult to account for the enthusiasm for a second chamber in the American and Australian States and the indifference to it in the Canadian and German provinces. The American and Australian commonwealths represent the true federal principle. In those two unions, the functions which the Central Government is to discharge are definitely made over to it by the constitution, while the residue of powers is vested in the State Governments.² Hence the State authorities have to bear a heavy administrative responsibility and their legislatures have to undertake many vital legislative duties. It is on this account that the people have set up a second chamber "which should at once be a brake upon 'naked democracy' and a model of tone and disinterestedness in public life."³ Such an onerous task they have not been ready to entrust to a single legislative body. In Canada and the German Republic, centralisation has, on the other hand, gone too far to leave much important work to be done exclusively by the provinces. Canada constitutes, no doubt, a specimen of federalism but here the residue of functions is vested in the central Government and only a schedule of minor functions has been definitely given over to the provincial establishments.⁴ This makes the provincial Government a minor concern and it is not likely that the people would object so much to get a few measures of little significance passed by a legislature of one chamber alone. As regards Germany, its new constitution is more unitary than federal. Legislative

¹ Marriott, *The Mechanism of the Modern State*, Vol. I, p. 409.

² Marriott, *The Mechanism of the Modern State*, Vol. I, p. 239.

³ "The Second Chamber in Australia," article by Prof. W. Harrison Moore, in "the second Chamber Problem," a pamphlet issued first on Feb. 7, 1914, as a supplement to the "New Statesman."

⁴ Cf. "The Dominion Constitution (of Canada), though federal in form, is in spirit, unitary."—Marriott, p. 240.

centralisation is throughout writ large on it. 'It is not expected therefore, that the people would get enthusiastic for a 'second chamber in a legislature that has very little to do.'

Now although the necessity of a second chamber is almost universally appreciated, and bi-cameralism is an accepted principle of political science, opposition to the system of double-chambered legislature is also gaining ground. There are people who point out that "Second Chambers are a clumsy and a complicated addition to the structure of government,"¹ and serves no useful purpose. It is only a fifth wheel in the administrative machine and as much its function is obstructive rather than constructive. It impedes the progress of work instead of facilitating the governmental business. Again the democrats of to-day take up the epigram of Sieyès and ask "of what use will a second chamber be? If it agrees with the Representative House it will be superfluous; if it disagrees, mischievous."² They pin their faith to the sovereignty of the people and accept the representative system of government only as a means of registering their will. The legislature must be, therefore, a mirror of democracy and give expression to its opinions and desires in legal and constitutional form. In a bi-cameral system, the lower House is invested with popular character and represents the demos directly and intimately. The Second Chamber, if it is to be of any use, must constitute a check upon this body and revise and review the action of the first. In other words, it must sit on judgment upon the opinions and ideals of the people—a function not adding to, but detracting from, the merits of the legislature. A British Statesman of radical views has put the arguments against the

¹ H. B. Less-Smith, *Second Chambers in Theory and Practice* (1923), p. 38.

² Quoted in the *Modern Democracies*. Vol. II, by Bryce, p. 438. See also Sir Henry Maine, *Popular Government* (1919), p. 178. He points out the likeness of this epigram to a similar one of the Caliph Omar "If the books," he said pointing out to the Alexandrian Library, "differ from the book of the Prophet, they are impious; if they agree, they are useless." Now "If the Koran is the inspired and exclusive word of God Omar was right; if Vox Populi, Vox Dei, expresses a truth, Sieyès was right."

Second Chamber in a clear and cogent form. "The Labour Party," he observes, "is opposed to a Second Chamber, no matter how such chamber may be constituted. It bases its opposition in the first place on the broad ground that one Legislative Chamber, elected on a democratic franchise, and by such electoral methods as will ensure as far as possible a representation of the popular will, is the best means of promoting legislation in harmony with the desires of the majority of the nation, and that a Second Chamber can in such circumstances, only serve one of two purposes—namely, if it be also elected in such a way as to represent the popular will it is a superfluous ornament and if it be composed of men nominated, or elected on a different franchise, it cannot be representative of national opinion, and is therefore a negation of popular government."¹ Hence it is clear that the only purpose which a Second Chamber may serve is "to be a nuisance to democratic progress and a protector of vested interest."²

The above argument, initiated by Sicyès and developed by modern statesmen puts us no doubt on the horns of a dilemma. But the way out of it is also easy. They have taken it for granted that "the voice of the people is the voice of God." that "the decisions of the community are not only imperative but all-wise." The common sense and experience of the people, however, have revolted against this doctrinaire standpoint.³ The people much often may lose their good sense and run wild, and the popular House of the legislature representing their ideals and outlook may launch upon a dangerous measure. This "danger of hasty legislation in harmony with popular opinion—from which no form of parliamentary government is free—is reduced by securing a re-discussion of all proposed legislation,

¹ Philip Snowden, the article on "the Labour Party and a Second Chamber" in "The Second Chamber Problem."

² *Ibid.*

³ Maine, *Popular Government* (1909), pp. 178-179.

by a body independent of either the House of Representatives or the executive.”¹

Here arises the necessity of a Second Chamber. Again it may be granted that a single legislative chamber that is really representative of the popular will and perfect from every standpoint, will discharge the onerous duties of the legislature with honesty and efficiency. But nobody to-day is satisfied with the representative character of our popular Houses, nor is it a fact that the quality of the members has reached quite the satisfactory standard. “With a perfect Lower House,” says Walter Bagehot, “it is certain that the Upper House would be scarcely of any value. If we had an ideal House of Commons perfectly representing the nation, always moderate, never passionate, abounding in hours of leisure, never omitting the slow and steady forms necessary for good consideration, it is certain that we should not need a higher chamber.” “But,” he continues, “though beside an ideal House of Commons the Lords would be unnecessary, and therefore pernicious, beside the actual House a revising and leisured legislature is extremely useful, if not quite necessary.”² Then it is also not unlikely that “a sinister combination of private interests”³ may by chance come to dominate the popular House and get measures passed, opposed to the public good. In a unicameral legislature there would be no opportunity to check the progress of such a sinister game. The public would be defrauded and some private concerns would be benefited. “It is therefore of great use to have a Second Chamber of an opposite sort, differently composed,”⁴ which will be able to revise the measures of the lower House and nullify the selfish attempts of the private interests.⁵

¹ Sidgwick, *Elements of Politics*, p. 444.

² *The English Constitution*, p. 107.

³ Sidgwick, *Elements of Politics*.

⁴ Bagehot, *The English Constitution*, p. 108.

⁵ Where both the Houses are directly elective, the Second Chamber is no safeguard against corruption. Cf. “Moreover, the men who compose the two Houses will—an age

Now if a Second Chamber happens to be really a useful and necessary adjunct of the modern legislature, the question would at once arise as to its constitution and functions. We shall have to decide as to how it is to be formed and what duties it is to discharge. "Broadly speaking, the powers of the Second Chamber vary with the mode of its formation. They are widest where it is directly elected, narrowest where it is nominated or hereditary. The more it is popular, the more authority, the less it is popular the less authority will it possess."¹ Hence, as a writer puts it,² "powers and composition are parts of one equation ; large powers in a Second Chamber involve direct representation, and direct representation involves large powers—the one is, as mathematicians would say, a 'function' of the other." The constitution and functions are thus interrelated and interdependent. A democratic chamber will make every effort to make its influence felt over the legislation, the finance and the administration of the State. It will never agree to play merely a subordinate rôle. Intimately connected as it is with the sovereign people, it will rival the authority of the lower House of the legislature. An appointive Second Chamber, on the other hand, will automatically sink into insignificance. Legally its powers may be large, but in practice, its authority will go by default. Its appointive character will, of itself, stamp inferiority upon it. In a democratic State, it will feel its own weakness and refrain from competing with a lower House that derives its authority directly from the people. We must, therefore, chalk out the powers that the Second Chamber is to exercise, before we proceed to

limit makes no difference—have been drawn from the same class, no new element of knowledge or wisdom is brought in to serve the nation. In the States of the American Union, the Senates are no better than the Houses of Assembly ; indeed, where corruption prevails the Senates may be worse, because as their members are fewer in number each member's vote is better worth buying and fetches a higher price."—*The Modern Democracies*, Bryce, Vol. II, p. 442.

¹ *Ibid*, pp. 441-442.

² Article "The House of Lords and its Future" in "The Second Chamber Problem" by Prof. J. H. Morgan.

settle its constitution. At present there are three classes of Second Chambers existing in different countries. In the first place, there are those which are equal, both legally and practically, to the lower House. Next we have Upper Chambers which have been assigned equal authority by law, but which in practice have come to be inferior in status. Then in the last place, there are instances of Second Chambers which are inferior both by custom and by law to the lower House.¹ The most obvious and simple arrangement is to make the two chambers co-ordinate, with equal powers ; so that the free consent of both shall be necessary to any binding decision of the legislature; and therefore, if either house refuse the consent to any proposed legislative measure, it must drop or be postponed.² In Federal Unions, the Second Chamber is to be, by its nature and character, a co-ordinate body. It is set up to safeguard the interests of the States from the onslaughts of the nationalist forces. As such, it must hold its own against the lower House which is organised on a national basis and is the stronghold of the centralising elements. It is quite in the fitness of things, therefore, that the federal Senates of America and Australia enjoy a co-ordinate status with the Houses of Representatives. That the Canadian Senate is not a body equal in powers to the House of Commons but is far inferior in position, does not constitute a source of strength to the Federal principle. It has only helped the augmentation of centralisation and taken away from the dignity of the component parts.

Now it may be simple, it may also be logical, that the Second Chamber should enjoy equal powers and authority with the lower House. But whether this would not complicate the legislative machinery and make it even unworkable in practice is a question that must also be faced. The American Senate has been given the tribute by Lord Rosebery that it is "the

¹ Bryce, *Modern Democracies*, Vol. II, p. 441.

² Sidgwick, *Elements of Politics*, p. 446.

most powerful and efficient Second Chamber that exists.”¹ It enjoys almost equal legislative powers with the lower House. We say almost because “all bills for raising revenue shall originate in the House of Representatives alone.” They cannot be initiated in the Senate. The Senate, however, “may propose or concur with amendments as on other bills.” Thus only with a slight restriction, the Senate has as much fullfledged authority over legislation as the lower body. This restriction also does not count for much in actual operation. Although the Senate cannot initiate any money bill, it can freely mutilate one sent up from the other House and add to, and cut out, provisions settled by the Representatives.² “It can not only question and stay the judgments of the commons, but may always with perfect *safety* act upon its own judgment and gainsay the more popular chamber to the end of the longest chapter of the bitterest controversy.”³ Now this co-ordinate authority has, no doubt, made the Senate powerful and influential and an effective check upon the House of Representatives, has also, on that account, been provided. But the prerogatives of the Senate have made its legislative system complex and for that reason cumbersome.⁴ “Collisions between the two Houses are frequent. Each is jealous and combative.”⁵ Each is prone to move along its own lines. Besides these equal powers in matters of legislation the Senate has some executive and judicial powers as well.”⁶ Without its consent, no appointment made by the President is valid and without its approval and sanction, no treaty with any foreign power can be come to.⁷ The Senate has thus been

¹ Quoted by Woodrow Wilson in ‘Congressional Government,’ p. 228.

² Bryce, The American Commonwealth, Vol. I, pp. 104 and 188.

³ Wilson, Congressional Government, p. 228.

⁴ *Ibid*, p. 228.

⁵ Bryce, The American Commonwealth, Vol. I, p. 188.

⁶ Cf. “The Senate is not only a legislative but also an executive chamber.”—*Ibid*, Vol. I, p. 107.

⁷ This is called “the treaty-marring power of the Senate.” *Vide* Wilson, Congressional Government, p. 50.

invested with immense legislative and executive authority and occupies a most prominent place in the constitution. Enjoying such immense prestige and held high in popular estimation, the Senate is not expected to take any dictation from the lower House lying down. It will challenge every assertion of power by the House of Representatives. Under these circumstances, when "each House can stop all legislation, and some legislation may be necessary,"¹ a dislocation of the governmental machinery might easily have been apprehended in the American Federation. The two Houses quarrelling with each other and proceeding to the logical extent would have put a dead stop to all legislative and administrative business. That this danger has been avoided in the U. S. A. is due to two factors. The Senators and the Representatives do not represent two distinct orders. They may be elected on two distinct principles: the Senators are to represent the States and look to their interests, while the Representatives are to see to the interests of the nation and aggrandise the forces of centralisation. But all the same "there is really a 'latent unity' between the Senate and the House which makes continued antagonism between them next to impossible."² The Representatives and the Senators are drawn practically from the same classes and both represent in their persons almost all the varied interests of the country.³ And what is more, the Senators are as much in direct touch with the people, and draw their inspiration as much from them as the Representatives. Both the Houses are therefore sensitive to public opinion. And in case of disagreement between the two chambers "either House would yield were it unmistakably condemned by public opinion."⁴ It is in fact the vigilance of the people that puts the Senators and the Representatives to sense. However combative their instinct may be,

¹ See Bagehot, *The English Constitution*, p. 97.

² Wilson, *Congressional Government*, p. 224.

³ *Ibid*, p. 225.

⁴ Bryce, *The American Commonwealth*, Vol. I, p. 188.

the two Houses have to bend before the opinion of the people. In a country with less vigilance on the part of the public, the conflict between the two co-equal Houses of the legislature may be easily carried to the farthest extent and bring the government to a complete deadlock.

The Presidential system of government in the U. S. A. has also made the co-ordinate authority of the Second Chamber less dangerous to the smooth working of the administrative machinery. The principle of the separation of powers has been faithfully accepted in America. The Executive here is not a part of the legislature. It is a body neither responsible to, nor removable by, the Congress. It is an institution altogether separate from the legislature. The question of controlling the Executive thus does not arise at all at Washington. In case, however, this prerogative was vested in the legislature, there would have been a conflict between the two Houses over this question. The Executive cannot be answerable to both the chambers at the same time. "The Cabinet government requires the ascendancy of one chamber because ministers cannot obey at the same time two different masters with conflicting wills."¹ It appears, therefore, that "a co-ordinate Second Chamber is an alien element in Parliamentary Government when fully developed."² The anomaly of two co-equal Houses in a Parliamentary form of government has been brought out into clear relief in the Australian Commonwealth and to some extent in France as well. The Federal Senate of Australia enjoys equal powers with the lower House, except only in matters of finance. Even in this field, the Senate exercises an authority not much inferior to that of the lower House. It may reject a money bill and though it cannot amend it, it may send in 'suggestions' for the modification of the proposed finance bill to the House of Representatives. This request of the Senate to accept the 'suggestions' and amend the measures

¹ Sait, *Government and Politics of France*, p. 135.

² Sidgwick, *Elements of Politics*, p. 449.

on the lines indicated cannot be treated so cavalierly by the lower House. The privilege of making suggestions on the part of the Senate thus amounts practically to a power of amending the money bill itself.¹ Now this co-ordinate authority of the second chamber has made inevitable the conflict between the two Houses. Nor was its possibility unforeseen by the constitution-makers. They incorporated in the Constitution a provision for meeting a situation of tug-of-war between the two chambers. In case a bill sent up from the House of Representatives, is twice rejected by the Senate, the head of the State may resort to a double dissolution. Both the Senate and the House may be dissolved and a general election proclaimed. After a fresh election, the two Houses would meet in a joint sitting and the rejected measure would be decided by a simple majority of votes in this joint assembly.² The governmental machinery has thus been made complex and cumbrous. In case both the chambers become habitually intractable, and try to stick to their own position and assert their own respective rights, the constitution would become automatically unworkable. Besides it was apprehended just at the start that the position of a co-ordinate second chamber in a responsible form of government would be anomalous, and the constitution ushered in, would break down in actual operation. No doubt "in the Commonwealth, the Cabinet Government with its tradition of the supremacy of the lower House appears to have prevailed."³ But all the same, the incompatibility has been keenly felt, and the attempts to assert equal authority and control over the Cabinet on the part of the Senate have given the constitution now and again a good shaking and jerking. The French Senate has also been assigned an equal position in the legislature.

¹ See H. B. Lees-Smith, *Second Chambers in Theory and Practice* (1922), p. 100.

² See Bryce, *Studies in History and Jurisprudence*, Vol. I, p. 517.

³ Articles "The Second Chamber in Australia" by Prof. H. Moore in the "Second Chamber Problem."

The Senate and the Chamber of Deputies have equal powers in the initiation and the making of laws, except those relating to finance which must be first introduced in the chamber. It may reject a money bill, but it is not expected, by parliamentary convention, to amend it in such a fashion as to involve any additional expenditure.¹ Besides these almost equal powers in legislation and finance, the constitution has invested it with some share of control over the executive as well. According to its provision, the ministers must be responsible, not to the chamber alone, but to both the Houses. The Senate thus is expected to exercise a controlling voice over the Cabinet.² Over and above these privileges, the Senate enjoys again a prerogative peculiar to itself. Without its consent, the Chamber of Deputies cannot be dissolved.³ In a cabinet form of government, when the ministers lose their support in the popular House of the legislature, they may advise the head of the State to dissolve that body and make an appeal to the country. The head of the state who enjoys the exclusive privilege of dissolving this chamber, grants, as a rule, the request of the ministers. Now possessing, as they do, such an instrument of power, the members of the executive body find themselves quite in a position to maintain the solidarity of their majority in the House. Every member is, at heart, afraid of a fresh general election which might involve his defeat and which would certainly put him to expenses. It is not lightly, therefore, that members shift their loyalty and go into the anti-ministerialist lobby. In France, however, the sanction of the Senate is essential before the Chamber of Deputies could be dissolved, and an appeal to the electorate could be made. This places the cabinet in an unenviable position. Its majority in the Chamber may dwindle, individual members, to grind their

¹ See the article on "the French Senate" in the "Second Chamber Problem" by Robert Dell.

² W. B. Munro, *Governments of Europe*, p. 441.

³ *Ibid*, p. 441.

own axe, may transfer their allegiance, but still it cannot threaten them with a general election. Now not being sure of a solid phalanx of majority in the Chamber, the Cabinet cannot resist the onslaught of the Senate. The Upper House claims—and now and again enforces its claim—to exercise co-ordinate control over the executive. Thus in 1896, it was successful in driving out the Cabinet of M. Bourgeois and in 1913 a hostile vote of the Senate in connection with the Proportional Representation Bill, forced out the government of M. Briand as well.¹ Between the Chamber and the Senate, the Cabinet thus finds itself between the devil and the deep sea. Hence it is easy to conclude, that the co-ordinate authority of the French Senate has been an unhealthy anomaly from every standpoint. It has made the position of the Cabinet almost precarious and made the progress of social legislation almost impossible.² It is of course true that the greater popular character of the Chamber has made the Lower House superior to the Senate which “has become distinctly the less influential of the two Chambers.”³ Yet it must be remembered that “the subordinate position of the French Senate is the outcome of usage not of law.”⁴ In practice, it may have to yield to the more popular House but it is never content at heart with playing a second fiddle. It makes an effort now and again to brandish the weapons of its equal authority and create a situation almost hopeless and impossible.

¹ Sait, *Government and Politics of France*, pp. 82-84.

² It rejected Proportional Representation Bill of 1913, the Income Tax Bill of 1909. “It was the Senate that made the Old Age Pensions Law inadequate and unworkable measure that it is. It is the Senate, with its overwhelming majority of so-called Radicals, that is now attempting to prevent the adequate taxation of the rich, who pay far less than in Germany or England, while the poor are weighed down by the burden of import duties and indirect taxes, which make the cost of living intolerable. It is the Senate which, by paralysing the legislative machinery, has made so prevalent the feeling of disgust with politics.”—Robert Dell in his “French Senate.”

³ Munro, “Governments of Europe,” p. 445.

⁴ *Ibid.*

The Canadian Senate which is no doubt "the one conspicuous failure of the Canadian Constitution,"¹ was originally intended "to be the special protection of provincial interests."² Hence the Senate was invested by the Constitution with almost co-ordinate authority. The powers of the Senate, observes an eminent writer, "are equal to those of the House of Commons excepting that, by law, money bills must originate in the House of Commons, and that, by the usual convention, whilst the Senate may reject money bills it may not amend them."³ Subject to these two minor restrictions, the two Houses are assigned by the Constitution equal rights and prerogatives. And "if," as a Canadian statesman points out, "there was a dead-lock between the House of Commons and the Senate, nothing short of a revolution could solve the difficulty...no constitutional remedy within our grasp could bring the Senate to a different view."⁴ Nor has the Senate been altogether unconscious that it actually possesses immense authority over the legislative policy of the State. As soon as a new party comes to power after a long interval of opposition, "it realises that Canada possesses a powerful Second Chamber. But it is a Second Chamber of an indefensible character."⁵ Composed mostly of the men of the opposite party and enjoying equal privileges with the Lower House, all its influence "is then likely to be used to hamper the new Government."⁶ The equality of powers between the two Houses is, therefore, not justified by Canadian experience also.

From the review of the Second Chambers in four go-ahead democracies of the modern world, it is apparent that a bicameral legislature with two co-equal Houses is more a weakness

¹ B. M. Dawson, "The Principle of Official Independence," p. 250.

² H. B. Lees-Smith, "Second Chamber in Theory and Practice," p. 57.

³ *Ibid*, page 59.

⁴ Sir Wilfrid Laurier in the House of Commons on Jan. 20, 1908. Quoted in Dawson, "Principle of Official Independence," p. 241.

⁵ H. B. Lees-Smith—"Second Chamber, etc.," p. 80.

⁶ See the article on "Second Chambers in Canada" in the "Second Chamber Problem" by Prof. George Wrong.

than a source of strength to the Constitution. A Second Chamber with co-ordinate authority is a hindrance, rather than a stepping-stone to the efficiency in legislation and administration. Nor has it been proved by experience, that such an Upper House constitutes a sure protection to the interests of the component parts in a federal union. The appointive Second Chamber in Canada hampers and obstructs the business of a new Government, but as its personnel changes during the regime of this administration it begins to adjust itself to the interests of the new party in power. With the death of old Senators and the appointment of new men¹ in their stead, the colour of the Senate gets modified and it passes under the thumb of the Cabinet. It now completely subserves the interests of the Central Executive and is simply at its beck and call. No Government measure, however dangerous and inimical it may be to the particular interests of the provinces, could have any chance of being resisted in this body. It will have a plain sailing throughout. Hence it is clear that "any expectation that the Senate could protect the claims of the province has been completely disappointed."²

Quite similar is the experience of Australia as well. The Senate here is an elective body and elections being run as usual on party lines, the members that would come over to this chamber must do so on a party-ticket. Now this party and now another would invariably control the Senate. The Labour Party which is a dominating factor in Australian public life controlled the Senate for quite a number of years. Now the public management of industries which the Labour people insist upon, the labour legislations and regulations which they every day advocate and demand, can be better undertaken by the Central Government than the provincial establishments. Accordingly, the Labour Party has pinned its faith on the

¹ In Canada, Senators are appointed generally when quite advanced in years. It is normal, therefore, that every year some of them would pass away.

² H. B. Lees-Smith, "Second Chambers in Theory and Practice," p. 53.

Central Government and its programme is directed towards more and more centralisation of public functions. This would naturally involve the pruning of State duties and rights and the ultimate overshadowing of State authority. The Senate as the mouthpiece of this Labour platform was naturally the instrument for the augmentation of Central power and the reduction of State jurisdiction. Hence "in practice the Senate has, by general consent, failed to fulfil the objects with which it was designed."¹ Instead of guarding the interests of the States for which it was specially created, it was actually converted into a body inimical to the state-rights.

A Second Chamber with co-ordinate authority thus makes the Constitution cumbrous and complex, if not altogether unworkable. It, by its very nature, stands against the supremacy of the Lower House and as such proves to be inconsistent with the Cabinet form of Government which demands that only one House of the Legislature should control the Executive. And lastly, though it theoretically constitutes a plank upon which a federal Government is based, it actually never serves the purpose for which it is set up. Hence when an Upper Chamber is superimposed upon the Lower, we should not invest it with equal powers and prerogatives, but definitely assign it a subordinate position in the legislature.² A writer, already quoted,³ points out in his observations on the French Senate, that "if there must be a Second Chamber, the experience of France shews that, whatever may be its constitution, it is essential that its powers should be merely suspensive as are now those of the House of Lords." The Second Chamber should be in a position to hold up a measure, passed by the Lower House, only so long as the people do not speak definitely in its favour. The

¹ J. A. R. Marriott, "The Mechanism of the Modern State," Vol. I, p. 251.

² See Sidgwick, "Elements of Politics," p. 449. But, compare also "The conception of an Upper House as a mere revising body, trusted with the privilege of dotting i's and crossing t's in measures sent up by the other Chamber, seems to me as irrational as it is poor."—Sir Henry Maine in "Popular Government," p. 180.

³ Robert Dell.

Lower Chamber may launch upon a bill and send it over to the other House. If the Upper House now thinks that the measure is going against the real will of the people it should keep it suspended until a general election shows clearly as to which way the wind blows. A Second Chamber, like the English House of Lords, should thus "act as the ally, and not the opponent of the popular will."¹

That the Second Chamber should not on any account enjoy equal powers and rights was also the opinion of the Conference which met in London in 1917 and 1918 under the presidency of Lord Bryce to consider the future of the English House of Lords. There was a general agreement among the members of this Conference as to the proper functions of a Second deliberative body. The functions which they assign to such a Chamber would make it useful and serviceable to the State, but would not elevate it to an equal and co-ordinate position with the Lower House. They, in fact, bring out clearly its subordinate character. The functions, according to the Bryce Conference² are :—

1. The examination and revision of Bills brought from the House of Commons, a function which has become more needed since on many occasions during the past thirty years, the House of Commons has been obliged to act under special rules limiting debate.

2. The initiation of Bills dealing with subjects of a practically non-controversial character which may have an easier passage through the House of Commons, if they have been fully discussed and put into a well-considered shape before being submitted to it.

3. The interposition of so much delay (and no more) in the passing of a Bill into law as may be needed to enable the opinion of the nation to be adequately expressed upon it. This

* H. B. Lees-Smith, "Second Chambers in Theory and Practice," p. 34.

² The Summary of Lord Bryce's letter on the results of the Conference in H. B. Lees-Smith, "Second Chambers," etc., pp. 32 and 33.

would be specially needed as regards Bills which affect the fundamentals of the Constitution or introduce new principles of legislation, or which raise issues whereon the opinion of the country may appear to be almost equally divided.

4. Full and free discussion of large and important questions, such as those of foreign policy, at moments when the House of Commons may happen to be so much occupied that it cannot find sufficient time for them. Such discussions may often be all the more useful if conducted in an assembly whose debates and divisions do not involve the fate of the executive Government.

Thus, in the words of an eminent writer,¹ "the prime purpose of an Upper Chamber is to serve as a brake, but not too tight a brake, upon the process of legislation. It should serve as a counterpoise to the haste and volatility of the popular Chamber. It should scrutinize, revise,—and delay when necessary. It should interpose obstacles, but not insuperable barriers, to the expressed will of the Lower House."

Now if these are the functions which a Second Chamber is to discharge, the question would at once arise as to how this body is to be constituted. This problem is perhaps the most vexed in all political science. Goldwin Smith warned us long ago that "it passes the wit of man to construct an effective Second Chamber."² The hereditary principle which is in vogue in England, and partially in Italy³ need not detain us long. It is not likely to be taken seriously by sober people at this time of the day. The method of constituting the Second Chamber by appointment next comes in for consideration. In Italy, excepting a handful of princes of the Royal House who sit on the senatorial body by hereditary right, the Senators are appointed for life by the King on the nomination of the Prime Minister. The Premier, however, has not the unfettered right

¹ W. B. Munro, "Governments of Europe," p. 447.

² Quoted in Marriott, "Second Chambers," p. 1.

³ The Princes of the Italian Royal House are Senators by hereditary right.

of nominating any and every man that he likes to place on the Senate. The Constitution has set forth certain categories of persons from which alone the Senators can be chosen.¹ Persons appointed to the Senate are expected to have a considerable stake in the country and a distinguished public service in any field behind them. Nor has this expectation of the Constitution-makers remained unfulfilled. The Italian Senate to-day is quite rich in experience and public service. In fact, "no Upper Chamber in any country includes in its membership a large amount of brains, education, scientific attainment, and political experience."² "Yet its influence upon the course of public policy has been next to negligible. The people pay very little attention to what it does or fails to do."³ The experience of Canada also tells the same tale. The Senate here is also an appointive body. The Prime Minister can nominate any Canadian to the Senate provided he is not less than thirty years of age. The only other restriction put in his way consists in the fact that "the four naturally differentiated areas of the country" should have equal representation on the Senate. Hence the Premier cannot nominate more than twenty-four Senators from any one of these areas.⁴ At the moment the constitution of Canada was being shaped, the ambition of the Constitutional architects was to "render the Upper House a thoroughly independent body—one that would be in the best position to canvass dispassionately the measures of this House and stand up for the public interests in opposition to hasty or partisan legislation."⁵ This hope has been completely belied. The Senate to-day, far from inviting the confidence of the people, does not enjoy its

¹ See Munro, "Governments of Europe," p. 660. There are 21 such categories named in the Statute.

² *Ibid.*, p. 671.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 671.

⁴ H. B. Lees-Smith, "Second Chambers" etc., p. 57.

⁵ The Confederation debates—the speech of Hon. George Brown quoted by R. M. Dawson in "The Principle of Official Independence," p. 241.

own confidence even. It has justly been described as "the pocket borough"¹ of the Ministers. It is consistently a partisan body—composed only of the blind supporters of the ministry. "To talk of its being in any sense judicial or independent is nonsense."² We may therefore state definitely that along with the experience of Italy that of Canada as well "teaches us that life nomination is not a system for other countries to initiate."³ "Life tenure in a legislative body is a handicap. It leads straight to impotence. If an Upper Chamber is to exert a real influence in law-making, its members must be directly or indirectly elected by the people."⁴

An indirectly elective Second Chamber has been in operation in France and it was also experienced by the United States for a century and a quarter. In France, the members of the higher local bodies and the delegates of the smallest ones are organised into an electoral college in every department of the country. It is this college that sends the members, for that particular departmental area, to the Senate.⁵ This method of election was modelled on the American plan of electing the Federal Senators⁶ by the State legislatures. The Senate of the United States "was meant to be a cool, calm, cautious, conservative body composed of elder statesmen." And hence it was to be "chosen not by the people but by the legislatures of the States who, being themselves picked men would be qualified to choose as Senators their own best citizens."⁶ This was the hope entertained by the Constitution-makers of the U. S. A. And more than half a century later John Stuart Mill also blessed the system and recognised it to be an excellent arrangement. He was not in favour of indirect election as such, but he thought that when the electoral body was

¹ The phrase of Alexander Senator, quoted by Dawson, p. 250.

² Quoted by Dawson from the Canadian Monthly, p. 251.

³ H. B. Lees-Smith, p. 81.

⁴ W. B. Munro, "Governments of Europe," p. 671.

⁵ W. F. Dodd, *Modern Constitutions*, Vol. I, pp. 295-32 and 310-316.

⁶ Bryce, "The Modern Democracies," Vol. II, p. 63.

invested with other permanent duties and election of the Senators was only a subsidiary business, the system would work well. "The case," he observes, "in which election by two stages answers well in practice is when the electors are not chosen solely as electors, but have other important functions to discharge, which precludes their being selected solely as delegates to give a particular vote. This combination of circumstances exemplifies itself in another American institution, the Senate of the United States."¹

The judgment of John Stuart Mill, however, failed him on this question, and the election of the Senators in the U. S. A. instead of being a subsidiary business as it should have been, became the primary concern of the State legislatures. "It brought national politics into these bodies, dividing them on partisan lines which had little or nothing to do with State issues. It produced bitter and often long protracted struggles in the legislatures over a senatorial election, so that many months might pass before a choice could be made. It led to the bribery of legislators by wealthy candidates or by the great incorporated companies which desired to have in the Senate supporters sure to defend these interests."² Accordingly an agitation against this system was launched upon and finally in 1913 the Constitution was amended and the power of electing Senators was transferred from the State legislatures to the peoples of the States.³ And now the federal Senators are elected directly by the people in every State.

The experience of France also in this matter of indirect election is not pleasing at all. "The work of the electoral colleges in France," says Munro, "reminds one of the nominating conventions in America; there is the same attempt on the part of the political leaders to manipulate the proceedings in advance, the same manœuvring and forming of combinations,

¹ Representative Government.

² Bryce, "The Modern Democracies," Vol. II, p. 64.

³ Bryce, "The American Commonwealth," Vol. I (New Edition, 1919), p. 101.

the same frequent triumph of dark horses over strong men. There is the same lavish outpouring of promises and usually the same rumours of corruption float through the air."¹ The experiences of the U. S. A. and France thus tell us definitely that the principle of indirect election need not be entertained seriously at all. In theory it may be alluring but in actual operation it has been found wanting.

Next we are to consider the method of forming the Second Chamber by direct election. The Federal Senates of the U.S.A. and Australia are constituted on this principle. But, says a recent writer, "The experience of Australia leads one to discard direct election as a method of constituting the reformed chamber. The elected Second Chamber tends to dispute the power of the First Chamber, especially in matters connected with finance."² That a House drawing all its influence and inspiration directly from the people would not like to play a second fiddle to the Lower House is clear enough. But in case it is made definitely inferior to the Lower House by constitutional provisions, it cannot but be content with its position. In that contingency, of course, there is the danger that first rate merit may not flow at all to the Second Chamber. It may be the dumping ground of mediocre elements alone. The Lower Chamber would be the arena for all important political fights. All the important debates and discussions would be held in the Chamber and upon its moods and temper will depend the fate of the ministry. All the thrills of political warfare will, in fact, be enjoyed by the people in this House. Here will be won the laurels of victory in debate and here it is that the future of a politician would be shaped and assured. As a matter of course, therefore, all the ardent and ambitious spirits would flock to the Lower House leaving the Upper Body to the dandies and the dowdies.

There is again the drawback of a directly elected Second Chamber that it may be merely a duplicate of the first. In

¹ "The Governments of Europe," p. 687.

² G. B. Roberts, "Functions of an English Second Chamber," p. 230.

these days, all the Lower Houses are elected by universal suffrage. Nor can the Second Chamber, if it is to be elective at all, be elected on the basis of a narrower franchise. "Election on a restricted franchise exposes the Chamber to the charge of being a class body, habitually opposed to the popular will."¹ This would alienate the sympathy and support of the people from the Second Chamber and diminish its utility as a revising body. In case, however, both the Houses are elected by the same voters, one may represent the same political opinions as the other and both may be constituted by the same class of members. This also would take away considerably from the merit of the Second Chamber as a revising House. If both the Houses are dominated by the same political parties, and think alike on all political questions, the Second Chamber, instead of criticising and moderating the views of the lower body, could only ditto them. Now, in order to obviate this difficulty, some devices have been thought out and applied. The Representatives and Senators may be elected at different times and enjoy different tenures of office. The members of the Lower House in America are elected for two years, while the Senators enjoy a longer tenure and continue for six years.² Coming out of the polling booths at different times, the Representatives and the Senators may belong to different political parties and embody different political opinions. Again both in Australia and the U. S. A., the Senatorial Constituencies are far larger than those for the House. A Senatorial constituency is really coterminous with an entire State. All the voters throughout the State constitute a single constituency for the election of the Senators.³ Elected by these larger constituencies, they are expected to possess a different political complexion from the Lower House. In many of the American States, the whole geographical area is divided into senatorial districts. Each such district

¹ Bryce, "Modern Democracies," Vol. II p. 448.

² Bryce, "The American Commonwealth," Vol. I (New Edition), pp. 97, 128.

³ Marriott, "The Mechanism of the Modern State," Vol. I, p. 244.

returns one Senator under the plurality plan, while it returns three representatives under the cumulative plan. This difference in the manner of voting creates a salutary political difference between the two Houses.¹ There is again a widespread idea that while the Lower House should be elected by single-chamber constituencies, the Second Chamber should be constituted on the basis of proportional representation. This has been supported by the authority of the members of the Royal Commission on Electoral Systems. The report of the majority of the members pointed out that "there should be much to be said in its (single transferable vote) favour as a method for the constitution of a Second Chamber."²

It thus seems to be possible by means of any or all of these devices to meet the difficulty of mere duplication which the system of direct election involves. And as to the claim for equal power and authority which directly elective Second Chambers may naturally put forward we have seen that this danger can be obviated by definite constitutional provisions. Now, once these drawbacks are removed or substantially modified, the objection to a directly elected Second Chamber falls to the ground. This would not make an ideal Second Chamber, but this would create one that is the least objectionable and the most useful that we can have.³

NARESH CHANDRA RAY

¹ Walter F. Dodd and Sue H. Dodd, *Govt. in Illinois*, p. 110.

² Quoted in J. Fischer Williams, "Proportional Representation and British Politics," p. 56.

³ The Bryce Conference recommended that the Lower House should elect the members of the other House. This will involve the same corruption which we experience in other systems of indirect election.

WHEN I SHALL DIE

(A poem)

When I shall die,
The noisy life of crowded town
Will be the same in festive gown,
The smile and tear, the joy and frown,
Will be the same by meadows brown.

None be lonely,
Only,
The boughs will sigh,
As winds pass by ;
When I shall die.

When I shall die,
The rosy morn in her pink blush,
Shall change her tint in colours lush,
The gay song-bird, the child of light,
Will sing all day in arbour bright.

None be lonely, •
Only,
As winds will listen,
Dew-drops will glisten,
When I shall die.

When I shall die,
The shining grace of Night's pearl belt
Round Phoebe's neck, will still be felt.
Below on earth lovers will kiss,
Enjoying Elysian bliss.

None be lonely,
Only,
The nightingale
Will mourn o'er dale
When I shall die.

When I shall die,
The world will go in its own way.
In turn shall pain and joy have sway.
Friends will meet friends, mother her son,
New hopes will spring, new works be done.
None be lonely,
Only,
A tear, a sigh,
In dark shall lie.
When I shall die.

MATILAL DAS

life exposed them to the charge of being *decadents* and neurotics.¹ In fact several of these artists had actually to spend a good part of their sad lives in lunatic asylums (as did Strindberg) maintained by Dr. Dulois and Dr. Blanche and some even made their exit from the stage of life by suicide.

To return to the element of visionariness. "The cosmical visions" of Gerard de Nerval "are at times so magnificent that he seems to be creating myths." This reminds us forcibly of Shelley's mytho-poetic faculty. But it was left to Stéphane Mallarmé (1842-98) to use Gerard's visions as materials of the symbolist's theory of a new æsthetics and to Gautier to show how a new style of criticism must be devised to properly appreciate the significance and importance of Gerard's art which makes of poetry a miracle-- "not beauty's mirror but beauty itself, the colour, fragrance, and form of the imagined flower as it blossoms again out of the page.and Gerard knew that vision is the root out of which the flower must grow. Vision had taught him symbol, and he knew that it is by symbol alone that the flower can take visible form." Carlyle's emphasis on "the visible" here reappears in an artistic *milieu*.

Beauty of a different type—austere, intellectual beauty, Symbolism and Beauty. which so inconstantly visited Shelley—was the object of Villiers-de-L'Isle Adam's worship, symbolised in his case by the Catholic Church. His attitude towards the mysteries of the spiritual world was very curiously determined exactly as in Yeats² by his interest in *Kabbala*, white magic, and the occult, as evidenced by his *Isis* and *Axël* and also by his leaning towards Oriental mysticism. "Become the flower of thyself!" he says almost in the language of a Hindu, "thou art but what thou thinkest";

¹ Heine, De Musset, Baudelaire, Verlaine, Leopardi, Carducci, Burns, Byron, Shelley, Keats, Poe, and Hearn can all be studied like patients suffering from neuroses." (Cf. p. 120 of *The Erotic Motive in Literature*.)

² Cf. "Autobiographies, etc." p. 456 and pp. 474-77.

literature may function as religion, appealing not so much to our senses as to our very soul by reawakening the imagination and through emotional fervour.

The *unseen* is clearly *felt* and then sought to be transformed from an airy nothing into an artistic embodiment. In essence this too is *Renanism*—only the critical is here replaced by the mystic side of Renan. This new attitude had for its outstanding exponent in criticism Charles Morice (born 1861—) whose “*La Litterature de tout à l’heure*” appeared in 1889 as a professed defence of Symbolism. Carlyle has practically defined the scope and meaning of symbolism in *Sartor Resartus*¹ (1831-34) as a more or less distinct and direct embodiment and revelation of the Infinite in such a way that the Infinite may be made to blend itself into one whole with the finite, so as to stand *visible* and the visible is alleged to be specially the poetic sphere of Théophile Gautier.

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It must be mentioned here that the extravagances, eccentricities, vagaries, and uncertainties of life and aim characterising in French literature such advocates of Symbolism as Nerval, Mallarmé, Baudelaire (the cynosure of the Parisian Bohemian society of his day) brought a good deal of discredit to their theories, art-principles, and critical canons. Their Bohemian

¹ Cf. *Rk*, III (specially) Ch. III.

life exposed them to the charge of being *decadents* and neurotics.¹ In fact several of these artists had actually to spend a good part of their sad lives in lunatic asylums (as did Strindberg) maintained by Dr. Dubois and Dr. Blanche and some even made their exit from the stage of life by suicide.

To return to the element of visionariness. "The cosmical visions" of Gerard de Nerval "are at times so magnificent that he seems to be creating myths." This reminds us forcibly of Shelley's mytho-poetic faculty. But it was left to Stéphane Mallarmé (1842-98) to use Gerard's visions as materials of the symbolist's theory of a new æsthetics and to Gautier to show how a new style of criticism must be devised to properly appreciate the significance and importance of Gerard's art which makes of poetry a miracle—"not beauty's mirror but beauty itself, the colour, fragrance, and form of the imagined flower as it blossoms again out of the page..and Gerard knew that vision is the root out of which the flower must grow. Vision had taught him symbol, and he knew that it is by symbol alone that the flower can take visible form." Carlyle's emphasis on "the visible" here reappears in an artistic *milieu*.

Beauty of a different type—austere, intellectual beauty, which so inconstantly visited Shelley—was Symbolism and Beauty. the object of Villiers-de-L'Isle Adam's worship, symbolised in his case by the Catholic Church. His attitude towards the mysteries of the spiritual world was very curiously determined exactly as in Yeats² by his interest in *Kabbala*, white magic, and the occult, as evidenced by his *Isis* and *Axël* and also by his leaning towards Oriental mysticism. "Become the flower of thyself!" he says almost in the language of a Hindu, "thou art but what thou thinkest ;

¹ "Heine, De Musset, Baudelaire, Verlaine, Leopardi, Carducci, Burns, Byron, Shelley, Keats, Poe, and Hearn can all be studied like patients suffering from neuroses." (Cf. p. 120 of *The Erotic Motive in Literature*.)

² Cf. "Autobiographies, etc.," p. 466 and pp. 474-77.

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an adequate medium Verlaine (and after him Mallarmé) took refuge in their Symbolic and musical allusiveness." One may be justified in referring to Poe's "Ulalume" (specially stanzas I and VII) in this context, if not also to "The Bells" and "The Haunted Palace."

"The Cheshire Cheese" of Yeats in the Strand of London for holding nightly meetings of the Bohemian Rhymers' Club consisting, among others, of Lionel Johnson, E. Dowson, J. Davidson, Arthur Symons, H. Horne and Oscar Wilde, reminds us of Verlaine's *salon* of the Rue Royer-Collord (represented in a group-photograph of 1889 entitled *Une Soirée chez Paul Verlaine*) noted for its literary Wednesdays.

About 1895-96 Yeats often visited Paris and stayed there now and then, though never very long at one time. His ideal of these years, we learn from him, he put into his description of Proud Costello. While in France, Yeats at first stopped with Macgregor Mathers and his wife near Champ de Mars or in Rue Mozart, but later, all by himself in a students' hotel in the Latin Quarter. On Sundays Mathers had evocation of spirits and spoke of having met his Teachers (*cf.* Theosophists' Master).

William Sharp visited Yeats in Paris and had telepathic vision. "Fiona Macleod" was even then Sharp's "imaginary beloved" though he had an admiring and devoted wife. Paul Verlaine too alternated between the two halves of his nature and Yeats met him in the Rue St. Jacques where he had coffee and cigarettes with him.

Arthur Symons who took the place of L. Johnson as Yeats's intimate friend influenced Yeats by his valuable ideas regarding poets and artists. Yeats admits that Dowson (though usually drunk and full of sensual desire) felt the fascination of religion, *i.e.*, for a condition of virginal ecstasy, but his poetry was sad—somewhat like Villon's—and he sang

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¹ As regards Yeats *vide* Calcutta Review for May, pp. 148-149.

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gives a common sacredness to the Song of Songs, and to the Sermon on the Mount, and in which one discovers something supernatural. Symons' translations from Mallarmé, Verlaine, Calderon, St. John of the Cross are accomplished metrical translations of our time and I think that those from Mallarmé may have given to my verses of these years, to the latter poems of *The Wind among the Reeds*, to *The Shadowy Waters*, elaborate form while Villiers de L'Isle Adam had shaped whatever in my *Rosa Alchemica* Pater had not shaped."

He next emphasises, however, his own development independently of these influences and says " Yet I am certain that there was something in myself compelling me to attempt creation of an art separate from everything heterogeneous and casual, from all character and circumstance. Certainly I had gone a great distance from my first poems, from all that I had copied from the folk-art of Ireland." Yeats's early championship of Ireland's folk-art and folk-poetry suggests a comparison between Yeats, as an enthusiastic popularizer of native folk-tales, folk-songs, fairy-tales and, generally, of all sorts of literature belonging to the common people, the peasantry, the fisher-folk, and the younger group of early nineteenth century German romanticists like Chamisso, Fouqué, Eichendorff, Rückert, Uhland, Kerner and Müller. Even " The Celtic Twilight " reminds us of the famous collection of ~~German~~ songs and ballads " *Des Knaben Wunderhorn* " (1806-8). Similarly Yeats's romantic-mystic **rose** symbol has its analogue in Novalis, whose " *die blaue Blume* " in his Heinrich von Ofterdingen (1802) as the grail-quest of poet-idealists suggests symbolically poetic longing and mystery and happens to be the progenitor of Ernst Schulze's romantically enchanting Rose (*die bezauberte Rose*, 1818). Ancient German folk-legend makes, we know, much of its *Wunderblume* (magic flower). Professor Herford rightly observes in "Germany in the 19th Century" that " the instinct for song and for folk-song is almost universal in the German people, and counts for

not a little in their manifold achievement." ***It was blood and iron and song which shattered the power of imperial France in 1870, and planted the new empire on its ruins."

Much of Yeats's passionate simplicity, as a poet-artist bent on rousing the masses of his fallen and degenerate country, owes itself to his naïve child-like fondness for Irish *primitive* folk-poetry and great is the service rendered to Ireland's regeneration and new life by Yeats's *symbolic* handling of simple themes. Germany, Norway, Russia and Ireland stand in this respect on a footing of equality, or, at any rate, they all possess a family likeness. Yeats rediscovers the very soul of primitive Ireland and, along with his collaborators in the Celtic Movement, gives this revived idyllic Ireland a long lease of fresh vitality.

Has not his "Celtic Twilight" immortalised the vanishing charms of the simple life of the Irish peasantry living in intimate association with ghosts and fairies among the primeval forests and hills, sea-shores and lake-sides, so extraordinarily rich in memories of a subtle yet naïve faith somewhat prone to superstition, no doubt, that alone sufficeth to take the edge off all daily trials, sufferings, privations, dangers, poverty, want, and *oppression* enough to make life a miserable burden? Yeats earnestly appeals like Herder to his literary comrades to collect after the manner of Bishop Percy the yet unforgotten, though scattered and fragmentary, popular poetry¹ of Ireland potent in its imaginative suggestiveness and he personally undertakes this national work with keen enthusiasm. Yeats and his friends achieved what the Grimm brothers accomplished for Germany. The parallelism may be pushed a little further by pointing out how Indian philosophy and poetry (through translations) influenced the German Romantic Movement and the Celtic **Literary** Movement. Yeats's literary²

¹ Cf. Book II, p. 241 of "Autobiographies, etc." (re 1891).

² Cf. "Autobiographies, etc.," p. 250, regarding the condition of Young Ireland in the 90's of the 19th century. The efforts of Yeats bore fruit in 1907 by giving a chance of appreciation to Synge.

lectures also resemble the Berlin lectures (1801-4) and the Vienna lectures (1805-12) of the Schlegels. Under the influence, partly of the Pre-Raphaelites and partly of symbolism, Yeats's verses now became "all picture, all emotion, all association, all mythology" and in criticism he exalted "Mask and Image" above 18th century logic (which his friend O'Leary however loved much) and began to set experience before observation and emotion before fact. Ireland torn to pieces between 1870 and 1890 by the factious wrangling of the Parnellites and Anti-Parnellites, the terrible land war, Nationalist Dublin seething with discontent, Maud Gonne bent on turning France against England, the narrowness of the Unionist moderates whose literary champion was Dowden who became untrue to Goethe in having transferred his allegiance to Wordsworth—"the one great poet," according to Yeats, "who after brief blossom was cut and sawn into planks of obvious utility,"—all these filled Yeats with despondency bordering on despair and he earnestly turned for strength and solace towards a fresh fountain of poetic inspiration and spiritual joy. We should not forget, however, that while in Paris once after witnessing at the *Theatre de L'Œuvre* a performance of Alfred Jarry's "Ubu Roi" he got sad on his return to Hotel Corneille at night because "comedy, objectivity, had displayed its growing power once more." His observations made with reference to this are worth quoting: "After Mallarmé, after Paul Verlaine, after Gustav Moreau, after Puvis de Chavannes, after our own verse, after all our subtle colour and nervous rhythm, after the faint mixed tints of Conder, what more is possible? After us the Savage God." It was at this time that Yeats met also Strindberg in a Café where a French-American actually proposed to establish a communistic colony of artists in Virginia because he held that "art has never flourished twice in the same place." A third person whom Yeats met there was a German poet, Douchendy, whose poems were without verbs, for, that poet considered a verb to be at the root of all evil in the world and he wished for "an

art where all things are immovable, as though the clouds should be made of marble" and he also heartily scorned reality! And Symons, who was largely influenced by Paris which was then concerned with nothing so much as *impressionism* and who in his turn influenced Yeats, hated generalisations and ideas. Yeats was for what he called pure¹ poetry—i.e., poetry free from "the impurities" of politics, science, history and religion which, as he thought, occasionally marred the poetry of Tennyson, Browning and Swinburne.

Some of Yeats's "Cheshire Cheese" companions re-
 Development in presented a transition all Pre-Raphaelite and
 Yeats. some were totally indifferent to subject, caring only for manner of execution which became to Yeats as an artist and art-critic all in all. Now indifference to subject was the commonplace of art criticism since Bastien-Lepage, Carolus Duran and others. All these men of extraordinary talent including Verlaine were destined to live wild passionate lives and die tragic² deaths. Between 1887 and 1891 Yeats was a Pre-Raphaelite and deeply studied the poetry of Blake and Rossetti. He then held that poetry should be opposed to realism and concern itself chiefly with beauty, though he wanted to combine with beauty, nobility and passionate austerity besides music. His traditional religiousness made it impossible for him to long remain a member of the Socialist group of William Morris who discovered in *The Wanderings of Ushen* "his own kind of poetry." He came into close touch with³ Oscar Wilde and had as close an affinity with Blake and Shelley, yet he seldom does more than set a temporary foot on the outer frontiers of the romantic⁴ Bohemia into the inner circle of

¹ L. Abererombie is very hard on "pure poetry" which he attacks in his Lecture (I) on Diction and Experience Moments of Greatness" as a modern heresy opposed to "the old idea of Great Poetry."

² Cf. the tragic end of John Davidson.

³ Cf. "Autobiographies, etc.," pp. 160-62 and also 79, 82, 107 and 141.

⁴ *Ibid*, p. 204.

which plunged blindfolded such artists of the Symbolic school as Verlaine. Yeats quickly retraced his errant steps urged possibly by his religious temper and in part by his cultural sympathies. It is rather unfortunate that the Symbolists who, strictly speaking, are the followers of Mallarmé as distinguished from those of Verlaine or Baudelaire known as Decadents, found an ally in that famous exponent of a somewhat morbid, somewhat neurotic, yet intense restlessness and pessimism, Charles Baudelaire (1821-68), who gave poetic expression to the weariness of the soul in fine musical lines suggestive of emotional excess bordering on *hysteria*.¹ Baudelaire was attracted by a mysterious sympathy of imaginative affinity to the hysterical genius of Edgar Allan Poe whom he attempted to interpret in his own way from 1852 to 1857 and again in 1864-65. Nostalgia for an exotic bliss—partly a vision and partly a romantic memory—was the shape that his poetic hysteria took. One of Baudelaire's "*Little poems in prose*," "*The Glass-vendor*," contains, for instance, the passage—

"I beg you to observe that in some people the spirit of mystification is not the result of labour or combination, but rather of a fortuitous inspiration which would partake, were it not for the strength of the feeling, of the *mood called hysterical* by the physician and satanic by those who think a little more profoundly than the physician; the mood which thrusts us ~~as~~ ^{up} resisting to a multitude of dangerous and inconvenient acts." Yeats quotes Samuel Palmer's remark that "*Excess is the vivifying spirit of the finest art, and we must always seek to make excess more abundantly excessive*" ("*Ideas of Good and Evil*," p. 225). His own observation is that "Certainly a

¹ Psycho-analytical criticism of literature and literary men holds that "the emotions that literature deals with bear a close analogy to symptoms in the neuroses.....Some authors like Rousseau in his *Confessions* or Strindberg in his *Confessions of a Fool* give us detailed accounts of their neuroses.....Freud divides the neuroses into (1) actual neuroses and (2) psycho-neuroses and the latter are hysteria, compulsion neurosis, and mixed cases, especially anxiety hysteria."—Albert Mordell.

thirst for unbounded emotion and a wild melancholy are troublesome things in the world, and do not make its life more easy or orderly, but it may be the arts are founded on the life beyond the world, and that they must cry in the ears of our penury until the world has been consumed and become a vision" (*ibid*). He then adds that "literature dwindles to a mere chronicle of circumstance or passionless phantasies and passionless meditations, unless it is constantly flooded with the passions and beliefs of ancient times" and he considers the best source of such fountains of passions and beliefs for European literature has always been pre-eminently the Celtic (along with the Slavonic, Finnish, Scandinavian), for, "it has again and again brought the 'vivifying spirit' of excess into the arts of Europe" and quotes Renan in support.

This essay of Yeats on "The Celtic Element in Literature" concludes with two important remarks, *viz.*, (1) "'The Celtic movement,' as I understand it, is principally the opening of this fountain" which is "a new intoxication for the imagination of the world" and (2) "The reaction against the rationalism of the eighteenth century has mingled with the reaction against the materialism of the nineteenth century, and the symbolical movement, which has come to perfection in Germany in Wagner, in England in the Pre-Raphaelites, and in France in Villiers de L'Isle Adam, and Mallarmé, and Maeterlinck, and has stirred the imagination of Ibsen and D'Annunzio, is certainly the only movement that is saying new things." He concludes with the prophecy that the arts having through their brooding intensity grown religious must utter themselves through legends and the Irish legends in particular possessing a new beauty "may well give the opening century its most memorable symbols" ("Ideas of Good and Evil," p 229; 1897).

Apropos of Baudelaire's hysterical mood, we note how Yeats too describes at some length his own exceptional and queer experience under the influence of his friend Michael Robartes,

eager to initiate him into the *Order of the Alchemical Rose*, when with that friend Yeats drove towards the Temple of the sect close to the lonely sea. He says that his mind then became emptied of familiar thoughts and experiences, as if "plucked out of the definite world and cast naked upon a shoreless sea." * * * "It was indeed," he continues, "days before this feeling passed perfectly away, and even now, when I have sought refuge in the only definite faith, I feel a great tolerance for those people with incoherent personalities, who gather in the chapels and meeting-places of certain obscure sects, because I also have felt fixed habits and principles dissolving before a power, which was *hysteria*¹ *passio* or sheer madness, if you will, but was so powerful in its melancholy exultation that I tremble lest it wake again and drive me from my new-found peace." ("Rosa Alchemica," Part III, published in 1897.)

The new-found peace is what came to him from his conversion² from what he calls "an error" (*viz.*, the doctrines of the Alchemical Rose), yet the way in which Yeats pleads for Owen Aherne,—who sticks to the last to that Order—as one "whose inner life had soaked up the outer life," and who "having discovered the law of his being" and "having seen the whole could not believe that a part (*i.e.*, the Catholic creed of absolute obedience to Christ born of a burning sense of sin and that of a need for repentance) is the whole," realized that salvation

¹ Freud's "Collected Papers," Vol. I, Chapters II, IV-XI (written 1893-1898) contain an elaborate treatment of this important psychical phenomenon but I cannot quote him in full and have to rest content with this reference.

² Cf. the conversion by St. Patrick of such ancient Gaelic heroes as Ossian, Caoilte, Conchobor and Cuchulainn.

Oppenheim defines hysteria as "an intensified expression of emotion and according to Strümpell in all cases of hysteria the disturbance can be traced to the psycho-physical sphere. The "incoherent personalities" of Yeats may be some form of the "splitting of consciousness" due to this kind of emotional disturbance amounting to neuro-psychosis of hysterics. The origin of such a phenomenon may be found in sexual life (taking the word sexual in its comprehensive psycho-analytical sense).

Psycho-analysts look upon Byron as one of the best instances of "hysteria in literature" and his intensely lyrical love pieces are explained as embodiments of his repressed love for Mary Chaworth who "made a neurotic out of him."

through Christ's atonement¹ was not for him, even though he felt that his ideas regarding the new law of the Holy Spirit contained extreme danger, nay, "boundless wickedness,"—perplexes us not a little.

This Aherne² is typical of the choice spirits of the Celtic Movement in Ireland who were rebels against the existing order and ardent seekers after a new truth, a new light for which they were painfully groping. Aherne's was, we read in "The Tables of the Law," the insatiable desire to teach his pupils the spirit of the Renaissance—the spirit of Freedom for the heart, the imagination, the soul—and he earnestly wanted to send out to the sleeping world his "saints, lovers, rebels and prophets" as preachers of the new law of the Holy Spirit (as distinguished from that of the Father and the Son) and to influence all men. "Swift passed his life in joking and railing" against the order of things in Ireland and "Curran telling stories and quoting Greek, *in simpler days*, before men's minds, subtilized and complicated by the romantic movement in art and literature, began to tremble on the verge of some unimagined revelation." Yeats (exactly like his Aherne and Robartes) stood on this verge. His sympathies were with the new law. His allegiance was to the new order. He was a prophet-poet and a rebel-lover of the coming age of the Holy Spirit even though a renegade from the Order of the Alchemical Rose in his last stage of development. It is as a dreamer of these dreams that he confronts other dreams (like Robartes and Aherne) at the cross-ways.

We all know that Baudelaire was acclaimed as the progenitor of modern symbolism. It is significant that Baudelaire startled the literary world of France by his translation in 1856 of Edgar Poe's tales of mystery and imagination.

¹ Yeats's latest published poems "The Tower" (1928) contains a poem called "Two Songs from a Play" on this subject.

² Yeats refers to him in his "Tower" which contains "Owen Aherne and His Dancers,"

Then came in 1857 his notorious "Flowers of Evil" with Gautier's dedication prefixed to the edition of 1868. There are in it exquisitely beautiful passages of high poetic idealism interspersed with those full of depressing sadness.¹ In the characteristic piece on Death he burns with a passionate longing

" To plunge to the gulf's bottom, heaven, hell what reck we,
To the bot tom of the unknown to find the new."

Baudelaire revived a fresh interest in mediæval mysticism.

It seems that Yeats was indebted for his Renaissance ideal of spritual freedom to such Christian mystics as Joachim of Floris, in Calabria (supposed to have died in 1202 A.D.) whose commentary on the Apocalypse is full of prophetic denunciations of the rigid and conventional ecclesiasticism of the Western Church. Joachim held that the Kingdom of the Father was over (before his day), that of the Son was already in the state of fast ebbing away, but that of the Spirit about to dawn (roughly by the year 1260) and that this last was to be a complete triumph of the spirit over mere rules, codes, and the letter of the law.

This indebtedness, if admitted, may in part account for Yeats's insistence on the triumph of the spirit, of the mind, of the heart, of feeling and the like. I shall just refer to such poems as "The Wisdom of the King," "Old Man of the Twilight," "Two Songs of a Fool," "Upon a Dying Lady" (containing a vigorous onslaught on priest's Mass, Penance, and Puritanical austerity which militate against the idea of a joyous state after death), and to the prose piece (in the "Secret Rose," 1897) called "Outcast" on the strife and struggle between the free and joyous gleeman and the rigid monks who crucify him. The clash and conflict between freedom and the rigidity of the orthodox church, is an old story. It is Theophile Gautier, again, who in his remarkable

¹ Cf. Baudelaire's "Sadness of the Moon," "The Balcony," "The Sick Muse," "The Evil Monk," "The Irreparable," "The Flask" and "Reversibility."

story of the Roman courtesan Arria Marcella (1852) vigorously presents the pagan (renaissance) artist's (or rather art-for-art's-sake propagandist's) favourite idea of Christianity, as represented by the Church, being ever hostile to *love and beauty* which constitute the very soul of art and embody the Pagan's religion. The magic charm of Marcella's love in which Octavius, the lover, is absorbed becomes abruptly broken in Gautier's artistic story by the reproachful eyes of a Christian visitor much in the style of what happens to Lycius and his beloved *Lamia* in that supreme **one** warm and flushed moment of mutual happiness assailed and dashed by the hard and ruthless glances of the unlovely eyes of the unbidden guest Apollonius, the philosopher-mentor of the Corinthian youth. We read in Keats's poem—

“ The bald-head philosopher
Had fixed his eyes, without a twinkle or stir
Full on the alarmed beauty of the bride ”—

till “ all was blight ” ; for the Sophist's eye

“ Like a sharp spear, went through her utterly
And with a frightful scream she vanished
And Lycius' arms were empty of delight.”

Similarly the Christian in Gautier by an exorcism forces Marcella to give up Octavius who at once swoons.

In both the stories love is balked by the merciless interference of so-called morality and religion. Keats's sympathies are with the lovers. In all such aesthetic treatment of such a theme the underlying principle is the artist's intense longing to preserve or restore the beauty of the now-vanished pagan world which is a perennial source of romantic emotion or rather passion for love and beauty. The artist's beauty-way of viewing the universe is thus set over against the philosopher's (or theologian's) utility-way, the highest utility in the comprehensive sense of the word being, as Plato holds, *Goodness*. Yeats too like Swinburne follows somewhat his master Shelley in his condemnation of the rigidly orthodox

Church. *Queen Mab*, *Revolt of Islam*, and even *Prometheus Unbound* are full of attacks on the Church even though the last piece and Shelley's *Hells* as some of his prose essays on Christianity, show how Shelley simply adores the Christ-ideal in a passionate manner.

The simple fact is that the Church has, roughly speaking from the 2nd century A.D. onwards, played the rôle of a persecutor of all rational and scientific thinking and all freedom movements and in its Puritanical blindness has stood against the arts except when painting or sculpture (as in Italy) could be made a hand-maiden of religion. This Cinderella status of art breeds revolt in aestheticians. Besides, *the Inquisition's* record by itself suffices to make the Church stand self-condemned. Galileo, Copernicus, Bruno and, in modern days, Darwin, Huxley, Marx and Freud—all such original thinkers and investigators of truth have, alas, been anathema to the Church to the infinite disgrace of that institution. Even Dante flings his invective against the avaricious clergy and the Pope who “wist not of the Fisherman nor Paul” (Paradise, Canto XVIII) and makes St. Peter Damian (who died in 1702) of Ravenna censure pastors and prelates for their life of luxury, calling them “burly modern shepherds,” just as Milton breaks out passionately in his *Lycidas* against

“ Enow of such as, for their bellies' sake,
Creep, and intrude, and climb into the fold! ”

Dante's *Beatrice* is driven into a digression (in Paradise, Canto XXIX) of a somewhat violent attack on theologians and religious preachers who provoke God's anger by “forcing the Book of God (in the Gospel) to yield to man's authority” and his St. Peter does not spare the covetousness of his successors in the Apostolic see.

(To be continued)

NATURE'S TOILET

Thou changest thy robes for the morning
To crimson bespangled with gold ;
A veil of soft saffron adorning
Thy shoulders of classical mould !
Like Sita a *Sâri* of radiance dost wear
With fluttering, shimmering end,
When trembling breath of the noonday doth dare
A sigh for thy splendour to spend !
In the evening, behold, with a pale-purple gown,
And necklets of amber, and armlets of jade,
Thy riotous tresses confined 'neath a crown
Of gold set with jewels that in heaven was made !

For the night the richest of unguent adorneth
Thy starry eyes lovingly peeping ;—
Stiff robes and all grandeur she scorneth !
Thy queenly attire of gracefulness keeping !—
And the buckle of sash round thy jet flowing hair
Is the moon ; and the moonlight the folds of thy dress ;
Diamonds they hang round thy ankles so fair,
Soft clouds lie in ambush thy feet to caress !
Beloved ! Why takest thou pains without number
To blossom in beauty each beautiful day ?
'Tis only with longing my heart to encumber
And teach me Love's secret in Love's silent play :
Thus ravish my mind with a rapture divine
To teach it true life is to live life for thee ;
And reflect in my soul thy Beauty benign
To beautify Love, Knowledge and Action in me !

KRISTODAS PAL DEATH ANNIVERSARY

A representative public meeting was held on the 24th July last at the Calcutta University Institute to properly celebrate the 44th death anniversary of the great Bengali patriot and most successful journalist, the late Kristodas Pal, with the Hon'ble Mr. Justice Costello of the Calcutta High Court in the chair and highly appreciative speeches were made by the President, the Rev. Dr. Bridges, Professor Hirankumar Banerji, Khan Bahadur Asaduzzaman (Vakil, High Court), Mr. Iswardas Jalan (Councillor, Calcutta Corporation), Mr. Cameron (Secretary, Anglo-Indian Association), Miss E. Rivett (Principal, United Missionary Girls' College) and Mrs. Santoshkumari Gupta.

We have not space for all the speeches and can therefore present to our readers only extracts from them.

The President Mr. Justice Costello, in addressing the meeting, said—

Ladies and Gentlemen,

I have presided at many gatherings of various kinds. I have taken part in all kinds of meetings but I am free to confess that never in my life have I been present at any gathering which have impressed me more than this assembly here.

I say quite frankly that I am surprised at the size of this audience. I doubt very much whether any other nation in the world could have produced a meeting of this character, because on this platform and in this room there have gathered together people of different communities with a diverse outlook on life from many points of view and yet here we are all assembled to do honour to a great man.

The most astonishing feature of this meeting, to my mind, is the presence of such a large body of young men. I say again

quite deliberately that in my opinion there is no other nation in the world where young men would assemble in such a large number, if at all, to do honour to a man who had passed away nearly half a century ago. I am quite certain that if some one attempted, for example, to produce a meeting of this character in honour of some great Englishman who had died in the mid-Victorian era, he might not have found half a dozen people who would take the trouble to attend. *** I had seen the statue which is at the corner of the road quite close to this place. I asked an English friend of mine who was Kristodas Pal and the reply was "he was a great and good Bengalee." I think you will probably agree with me that most of us would be well content if after we have departed this life, it should be said of us that "we were great and good." No man could desire a better or nobler epitaph***.

The highest reward of any man's life-work is not that it should bring him titular honours or wealth or even contemporaneous recognition. The best reward in truth that any man or any woman can achieve is that he or she should live in the hearts or minds of their fellow countrymen. Trying in my own way to analyse why the memory of Kristodas Pal is so vivid and so revered I came to the conclusion after having read some of his writings and some of the speeches which were ~~delivered~~ on occasions similar to this, held in previous years, that the real secret of the man's inspiration was this: that he was in the very highest sense of the expression a real patriot and that what he set before him, either consciously, or, perhaps, subconsciously, was the ideal of doing something—doing "his bit" for his day and generation and striving so to think, so to work, so to write, and, above all, so to live that the world at large and in particular the country to which he belonged should be 'all the better for the fact that he had lived in it.

To sum up in one word, which to my mind expresses the highest ideal that any man can put before him, his motto was

“Service and not Self.” I am certain from the speeches delivered here this evening that it was the noble aim and ambition of “service” the service to his country and to his fellowmen which animated Kristodas Pal. That being the case he has rightly attained the highest reward which can fall to the lot of any man and that reward is “Immortality.” It has been well said that to be forgotten—that alone is death: to be remembered—is to be immortal, and your great compatriot, the man whom we delight to honour this evening, has joined the Immortals and his memory will not only live for ever more in this country, but will serve as an example and inspiration to successive generations for all time to come.

One word more and I have done, and it is this. The speeches which I have heard this evening have so stirred me that I could almost wish that I were not in a position which prevents me from taking an active part in what is ordinarily described as “politics.” But however we are situated we can all in our own sphere do something to serve our generation. The inspiring speeches which you have listened to this evening, must, I am sure, have struck a responsive echo in every one of your hearts. I am not at all surprised at the eulogistic things which have been said about Kristodas Pal. So far as I can gather from the short acquaintance which I have with his writings and the knowledge which I have gained as to his life and work, I feel that everything that has been said of him is in the highest degree justified. If I may say so with all possible respect I congratulate Bengal for having as one of her illustrious sons so great a man as Kristodas Pal.

Rev. Dr. P. G. Bridge, Principal, St. Paul's College,
said :—

Speaker after speaker has noted that one of the salient features which made him the man he became was his openness of mind, his desire to meet all classes and to listen to every

shade of opinion before forming his own. He did feel very strongly on many subjects yet he was always ready to listen to every side of every question that came before him. This is indeed a trait in the character of truly great men. His articles in the "Hindu Patriot" are abundant testimony of his sincerity of purpose and open-mindedness. He wrote nothing without fully verifying the facts. How many of our journalists to-day could say that not a line is published in their journals without verification of the facts. His criticism was based on solid facts and figures and not upon mere rhetorical camouflage. Hence the warm tribute that Sir Rivers Thompson paid him: "This I can assert without fear of contradiction, that there was no matter of any great public importance, connected either with administration or legislation, in which the Government were more assisted than they were during the last fifteen or twenty years by the independent and unbiassed sagacity and judgment of Kristo Das Pal."

He was a courageous man, but he possessed the courage that respects difference of opinion, and does not humiliate and despise the opponents. It has been observed by no less a person than Sir Stewart Bayley: "His criticisms were trenchant; his speech was certainly never wanting in effect, or force, or vigour; and in these capacities, no doubt, he gave very many hard knocks, for some of which I myself have come in. But I may say he never lost the respect and admiration of adversaries. He has left an example of independence, of moderation, of unrivalled powers of conciliation and a character which, above all, Young Bengal should always have before them as an ideal."

What India requires above all is the creation of a strong middle class which will act as the link of union between the landed aristocracy of this country and the landless classes. The stability of a nation, Aristotle observed centuries ago depends on the existence of a strong middle class who are the mediatory between the rich and the poor. That is what India wants to-day.

Prof. Hiran Kumar Banerji, M.A., B.LITT. (Oxon.) said :—

To my mind the character of the man has a far greater effect than the glory and triumph that he had achieved. He brought some of the finest qualities of head and heart to his great work in life. There was a fearlessness in the man which no calumny can ever belittle. I need hardly remind you how manfully he fought the country's battle against the Cess Act, the abolition of Indian Import Duty, and Assam Cooly Act, to mention only a few of the controversies in which he was engaged during his life. He was fearless, and I may almost say uncompromising when he felt that a wrong and injustice had been done. Temperamentally he was a moderate man and his balance of mind was almost unique. It was this balance of mind and transparent honesty of purpose that were primarily responsible for the influence that he exercised over the generation that followed. It was the same sterling honesty that he brought to his wonderful career as a journalist.

Khan Bahadur Asaduzzaman, M.A., B.L., Vakil, Calcutta High Court, said :—

He was the friend, the philosopher and the guide of the great zamindars and the most influential man of Bengal of his time and was the respected and trusted adviser and counsellor of the Provincial and Imperial Governments. He was no less an ardent advocate and champion of the rights of the peasants and the labourers than he was the upholder of the prestige and dignity of the landed magnates.

On a perusal of his writings one cannot but be struck by the thought that he was a man fifty years ahead of his times.

The Indian National Congress demand for Self-Government was not formulated till 1906, but Kristo Das Pal made a demand for Home Rule on colonial lines as long ago as 1874.

His note on agricultural banks was written about 50 years ago. The essential part of the recommendations of the Royal Agricultural Commission (of 1926) made in 1928 does not carry us any further than the scheme adumbrated by Kristo Das Pal fifty years ago.

His life teaches us that one can be the respected friend and trusted adviser of the Government while being a severe critic of its measures.

Where he had to collate facts, to manipulate figures, to assail premises or conclusions, to tabulate results, to advance arguments, to cite authorities, to expose inconsistencies and detect fallacies, he was in his element.

Love, sympathy and goodwill to all were the predominating traits of a public life which is not the least valuable of many legacies that Kristo Das Pal has bequeathed to his countrymen and those high qualities were reflected in the conduct of the great journal over which he presided with consummate ability for the space of nearly a quarter of a century.

Loyalty to the Crown and justice to the people ought to be the battle cry of every champion of his country's cause.

Mr. Isswar Das Jalan, M.A., B.L., Councillor, Calcutta Corporation, said :—

It was in 1864 or 1865 that Kristo Das Pal was advocating and requesting our Government that we should be given equal rights as the other colonies possessed. It is a matter of surprise and it is a matter also of regret that although we are now in 1928 we have not been able to realize the ideals which were the ideals of Kristo Das Pal.

In 1865 Kristo Das Pal wrote :— “ Can India of to-day stand where she was 10 years ago ? ” Cannot we ask the Government the similar question “ Can India of to-day be the same as it was during the time of Kristo Das Pal ? ” It is a matter of real satisfaction to us all that even in those days India wanted full responsible Government.

“ It is strange that, notwithstanding their boasted English education, their intimate contact with Englishmen, their imitation of English habits and fashions, they are still so much behindhand in appreciating the best English virtues— independence and union.

Do they ever see an Englishmen surrender the interests of his country or the honour of his nation from a love of filthy lucre or from base fear? Do they ever see any want of union among Englishmen in upholding their national character? If the personal examples of Englishmen will not teach our countrymen the glory of political unity, we do not know what will.

Disunion has been the cause of India's ruin both in the past and in the present. Self-seeking mutual jealousies, intrigues, and machination have frustrated the most important objects and miscarried the most laudable undertakings.

The mass may be cowed down by the show of the bayonet but even they, in the inmost recesses of their hearts, despise the hand that brandishes the sword to exact obedience. There is a grandeur in moral prestige which no special laws, no special courts, no special procedure supported by the sanction of brute force can lend.”

Could you find more forceful and more independent style than this even at present? This is what Kristo Das Pal was.

He was a pioneer of all-round reforms. Not only was he a political reformer but was also a pioneer of social reforms.

Mr. Cameron, Secretary, Calcutta Anglo-Indian Association, said :—

In these days of transition and ferment, when passions are apt to run high, the life, speeches and writings of Kristo Das Pal are a practical proof that loyalty to the Crown is perfectly compatible with an unflinching and uncompromising advocacy of India's legitimate aspirations.

My community to-day, awakening to a consciousness of pride in their position as natives of India and, feeling for the first time the pulsations of a national life and national aspirations, would surely have found in him a trusted friend and adviser to assist them in their new ideals and one who, understanding and sympathising with their apprehensions, would have constituted himself the interpreter between the youngest of India's peoples and their elder brothers.

Miss F. Rivett, M.A., Principal, United Missionary Girls' College said :—

I should like us to remind ourselves to-day of a few gleams of light which shine across our ways as we recall Kristodas Pal's inspired words. I shall refer only to those which concern his dream of the emancipation of his country's women and the high standards he desired to see his own University setting in education.

He has a lofty idea of what society would be were the women of Bengal free to enter into it bringing beauty and goodness and truth. He says :—

“It is a pity that Indian ladies should be shut up in the zenana to rust in inaction and inexperience, permitted not to enjoy life or grace, society and the world, unable to improve themselves or improve others, to refine manners and enrich domestic and social life.”

The next point I want to raise is that of the University and Kristo Das Pal's fearless enunciation of principles which should underlie its organisation.

“One of the most important functions of the University is to defend the cause of education from the caprices and fantasies of individuals.

It is of the utmost importance, therefore, that there should be a buffer—and a stout one—to stand between it and individual caprices and fantasies.

Without it violent concussions of adverse opinions are sure to knock the educational train entirely off its rails. If every man in power were allowed to pluck out what his predecessors had grown simply because the plant does not seem to be of the exact variety for which he has a fancy, without waiting to taste its fruit, the result would not but be most mischievous.

The University should, therefore, always keep its weather eye open in this direction. By the nature of its constitution, embracing as it does in the Senate the heads of all the principal educational institutions and some of the foremost men of knowledge and experience in the country, and moving on without any periodical break or change in its course it is capable of giving to the educational policy of India a stability and progressive power. If it desires, it can be all-powerful in its sphere, but to be so it must be above private interest, above subserviency to men in power, above a temporising policy and, what is more, it must win the confidence of the public by unflinching adherence to fair dealing.

The University of Calcutta merely stamps the trade mark upon the articles exhibited before it. Will it be content with this function? Will it do nothing to stamp its beneficent influence upon the destinies of the country? Should not a course of action be adopted which will really benefit the people and advance them in the race of progress? "

Mrs. Santosh Kumari Gupta, said :--

I have not the power to portray into your heart of hearts his burning desire for freedom, the unfathomed love of his country and that spirit of patriotism which he left for us. I stand before you only representing the woman-folk of the country and tell you that I am merely a woman who to-day stands before you as a votary to dedicate her heartfelt offering at the altar of this great man of India.

India of to-day is not India of yesterday. The national ideal which was promulgated by Mahatma Gandhi and by our

late lamented Desbandhu Das—that principle of freedom they enunciated were not unknown—they were not new to Kristo Das Pal. He had the same national ideal though the people of that time could hardly realize it.

Kristo Das Pal said, “ shortsighted politicians look to brute force as the only means of securing the stability of an empire but they labour under a huge delusion. No empire can rest on brute force alone. It should be tempered and sanctioned by a higher force, which touches the inner man and binds mind to mind.” Think of these words and try to realize that they were said years and years ago.

Reviews

Proceedings of the First Indian Philosophical Congress, 1925.
(Published by the Calcutta Philosophical Society, Senate House, Calcutta.
Price Rs. 7-8 or 10s. net.)

This is a substantial contribution to philosophical studies of the present day. It is a handsome collection of about fifty original papers by distinguished scholars—Indian and European—who are especially interested in the study and teaching of philosophy. The papers are of varied interest and touch on many fundamental philosophical problems that engage the attention of eminent thinkers in the East and the West. It is in the fitness of things that the bulk of the work is a study and research of Indian philosophy in its different branches and periods of development. But it will be readily seen that European philosophy in its main divisions (Logic, Metaphysics, Religion, History, Ethics and Social Philosophy) has occupied no less important a place in the deliberations of this learned body. Besides this the reader will find matters of general interest and high cultural value in the addresses delivered by illustrious persons like Lord Lytton and Dr. Rabindranath Tagore among others. The special merit of the work under review is to suggest new lines of approach to and shed fresh light on some of the outstanding problems of philosophy. If co-operation in philosophical studies has any value, the above Proceedings possess it to the full. The get-up of the book is excellent. It will not compare unfavourably with bigger things like the proceedings of the International Congress of Philosophy. The book should command wide circulation. The Calcutta Philosophical Society is to be congratulated on the inauguration of this new institution of the Indian Philosophical Congress.

A. B. L.

A Chronology of Ancient India—By Dr. S. N. Pradhan, M.Sc., Ph.D.
pp. xxxii and 291. Royal 8vo. Published by the Calcutta University.

European scepticism had for a long time stood in the way of our accepting the historical value of the Purānas and pushing thereby the antiquity of Indian culture to the third or fourth millenniums B.C., which saw the beginnings of the culture of ancient Babylon or Egypt.

It was however reserved for a European scholar to take up the problem seriously and the late Mr. Pargiter won undying reputation among indologists by proving that the Paurānic records were not mere fabrications, but real historical records, though often mixed up with myths and fables. The results of his labours were made public in the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* (1910). His article attracted the attention of a number of Indian scholars, who took up his work and among these the names of two are worth mentioning, *viz.*, Dr. H. C. Rai Chaudhuri and the writer of the volume under review. Dr. Rai Chaudhuri worked in connection with the period extending from the accession of king Parikṣit to the coronation of king Bimbisāra of Magadha. Dr. Pradhan, as his book shows, has carried his investigations to an earlier and more obscure period.

The book is divided into a large number of chapters in the first of which, the author tries to establish the synchronism of the Vedic king Divodāsa Pañcāla with Daśaratha the father of Rama, the hero of the Rāmāyana, a conclusion which is nearly the same as attained by the late Mr. Pargiter. In a number of succeeding chapters, similar major synchronisms are established, and the Paurānic accounts relating to the Yadus, Pañcālas, Śrñjayas, Aṅgas, Kāsis and other dynasties are cleared up (Chs. III to XIII) in collaboration with the evidence of the Vedic literature. The author then passes to his next important theme, that, from Divodāsa to the incidents of the Mahābhārata, the number of generations which intervened varies from 12 to 15 in the different dynastic lists.

In the Ch. XIV, he discusses the probable duration of a generation and after calculating the mean average of human life, he assigns an average of 28 years to each generation and fixes the date of Divodāsa at 1514 B.C.

In the two succeeding chapters, *e.g.*, XVII and XVIII, he takes great pains to refute the chronology of the Vedic period as advanced by the Late Lokamānya B. G. Tilak and Dr. A. C. Das of the Calcutta University.

Having fixed the dates for the kings of the upper limit of the period, he takes up his investigation in regard to the dates of the period from Bimbisāra to Chandragupta. He fixes the date of Chandragupta Maurya's accession at 325 B.C. or 327 B.C. By adding the intervening regnal-periods, he comes to the figure 513 B.C. as the date of Pradyota's accession and 533 B.C. for Prasenajit's accession. To this date he adds the period covered by kings of Magadha or Kosala, at the rate of 28 years for each king and thus comes to the year 1149 or 1151 B.C. which according to him was the date of the Bharata battle (*cir.* 1150 B.C.) For

this date he attempts to find confirmation by adding the evidence furnished by the astronomical data in the Vedāṅga Jyotiṣh.

It is not the place for a detailed examination of the chronological findings of the author, for we do honestly believe that every serious student of Indian history should as yet keep an open mind as to the chronological landmarks of the obscure and almost prehistoric period. The author's efforts are praiseworthy and his discussions show his careful and minute investigation, but we must bear in mind that even if we accept the date of Udayana's or Bimbisāra's accession as fixed by him still there is the chance of a big error creeping in, with the acceptance of the average regnal period. The author has assigned 28 years to each generation of king, and this may not be accepted by all. Mr. Pargiter makes allowance for 26 kings as the approximate number of rulers who intervened between the Bhārata war and the accession of Mahāpadma who became king in 382 B.C. He has assigned only 18 years to each king and thus brings the date of the war to 850 B.C. Furthermore, we think that the absolute rejection of the fixed interval of 1015 years between the Nandas and Parikṣita is objectionable. The assumption of such an interval may or may not be justifiable, but the author should have taken care to advance solid reasons for his rejection. Similarly, we have a right to take exception to some of his statements. One instance may be cited, *viz.*, that a reign of 64 years assigned to Srutastravas is unknown in history (page 260). A little more of enquiry would have brought to his notice that Louis XIV reigned for 72 years and even in recent times Francis Joseph of Austria reigned for 68 years (1848 to 1916). In making such statements, the author should have taken more care.

We congratulate the author on his careful investigation and his patience in collecting minute details from the traditional literature mixed with myths and fables. We hope that his book will be welcomed by students and scholars alike and his name will be honoured as that of a pioneer in his department. It will evoke interest in younger men particularly, who will carry on their researches into the more ancient and more obscure periods of Indian history and give the lie to the suggestion of those who harp on the modernity of Indian culture. As Pargiter himself has shown, the traditional records preserve the names of 95 kings who ruled prior to the Bhārata war (see Pargiter, *I. H. Tradition*, pp. 144-149), and assigning a reasonable period of 20 years to each king, the date of the earliest Hindu ruler can be safely carried to 3200 B.C., a period almost synchronous with that of Menes, the traditional founder of the Egyptian civilisation,

The printing and get-up of the book are excellent, though by a more careful correction of the proofsheets many of the typographical errors would have been avoided.

N. C. B.

Ancient India—By Prof. U. N. Ball, M.A., of the Dyal Singh College, Lahore ; pp. 278. Cr. 8vo.

Within the narrow compass of 278 pages, Mr. Ball has attempted to give a comprehensive survey of the social and political history of India. His book is intended for college students and covers the whole period from the Vedic Age to the eve of the Moslem conquest. The author's attempt is creditable and the plan of the book is good. He has moreover incorporated in his volume, the opinions of European scholars and the findings of modern researchers. In spite of all this, there are errors and shortcomings which go to lessen the value of the book. In some places, the author comes to abrupt conclusions and in some other places he makes statements without furnishing any reasons. Thus, rejecting the views of Bühler he brings down the Manusamhitā to the 3rd Cen. A. D. Similarly, he assigns to Vidura, the son of the slave girl, a status equal to the Kṣatriya princes and makes Virajas the son of Brahmā instead Viṣṇu. The language is not bad, but occasionally grammatical errors are found, especially some relating to the use of the definite article. The proof-sheets ought to have been more carefully revised and this would have prevented the large number of mistakes which find place even in this revised edition. We draw the attention of the author to these.

N. C. B.

The Calcutta Review



GEORGE EWAN

Ourselfes.

THE LATE DR. EWAN

We deeply regret to have to record the sudden and premature death on the 2nd July of the Rev. Dr. George Ewan, M.A., Ph.D., of the Scottish Churches College at the age of only 42, who was closely connected with us as a Lecturer in Philosophy in the Post-Graduate Department and for the past few months as a Fellow of the University and a Syndic.

Dr. Ewan was a distinguished graduate of the Edinburgh University which honoured him also with the degree of Ph.D., and came out to this country in 1913 and by his devotion as a missionary has rendered valuable service to the cause of Christianity besides being an educationist of reputation. His remains were followed by a large body of sincere mourners, European and Indian, to the Scottish Churches Cemetery to find their final rest and we sincerely join with the Syndicate in the expression of our deep sense of sorrow at the loss caused by his death and offer our sympathy to his family now in Scotland.

* * *

ADHAR CHANDRA MOOKERJEE LECTURER

Pandit Kshitimohan Sen of the Santiniketan, Bolpur, has been appointed as Adharchandra Mookerjee Lecturer, 1928, and he will deliver lectures on Mediæval Indian Religious Movements.

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RESULTS OF UNIVERSITY EXAMINATIONS

B.Com.

The number of candidates registered for the B.Com. Examination was 105 of whom 40 passed, 56 failed, none was expelled and 9 were absent. Of the successful candidates 1 was placed in Class I and 39 in Class II.

B.A.

The number of candidates registered for the B.A. examination was 3,461, 3,269 of whom actually appeared, of whom 1,531 were successful, 144 were absent, 11 were expelled and 1,727 failed. Of the successful candidates 1,249 were placed on the Pass List and 266 on the Honours List, 2 passed in one subject and 14 in two subjects only. Of the candidates in the Honours List 26 were placed in the First Class and 240 in the Second. Of the candidates in the Pass List 126 passed with Distinction.

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DATE OF D.P.H. EXAMINATIONS

Tuesday, the 27th November, 1928, has been fixed as the date of commencement of the next D.P.H. Examinations, Parts I and II.

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STATE TECHNICAL SCHOLARSHIP

The Government of Bengal have decided to grant, in the year 1928-29, two State Technical Scholarships, each of the value of £200 per annum *plus* a bonus of £40 per annum in the following subjects :—

(1) Theory and practice of sizing and calendering in respect of textile manufacture.

(2) Automobile Engineering.

Candidates for subject No. 1 should hold an honours degree in Chemistry with Physics and Mathematics. For subject No. 2 candidates should possess a degree in Engineering. Candidates with Mechanical Engineering Diploma of the Bengal Engineering College are also eligible for subject No. 2. The scholarships are ordinarily tenable for two years in Great Britain but this period may be extended for a further period, should the High Commissioner for India recommend that

such an extension is necessary for the satisfactory completion of the course, by visits to suitable firm or practical training in workshops, as the case may be.

Selection will be made from candidates actually associated in the industries in question and from those who can satisfy Government that they intend to make a career in the industry. Applications should be accompanied by a full statement of particulars of the following with copies of testimonials :—

(a) Age (which should not exceed 25) on 1st September, 1928.

(b) Place of residence.

(c) Father's name and occupation.

(d) Qualifications :—(i) Educational, (ii) Practical.

(e) Certificate of physical fitness.

Applications should be addressed to the Director of Industries, Bengal, 40-1A, Free School Street, Calcutta, and should reach him not later than the 31st July, 1928.

A. T. WESTON,

Director of Industries, Bengal (Offg.)

FINANCE DEPARTMENT.

RESOLUTION.

Simla, the 9th May, 1928.

Rules for the examination of candidates for admission to the Indian Audit and Accounts Service, the Military Accounts Department and the Imperial Customs Service.

No. F./16/II./R.II.—In supersession of this Department Resolution No. F./35/I./F.E., dated the 25th April 1927, the following revised rules, which are liable to alteration from year to year, are prescribed for the examination of candidates in

India for admission to the Indian Audit and Accounts Service, the Military Accounts Department and the Imperial Customs Service. Special rules applicable to Burman candidates will be issued later. Burman candidates shall not compete at the competitive examination to be held under Rule 1 in the year 1928.

1. A competitive examination for admission to the Indian Audit and Accounts Service, the Military Accounts Department and the Imperial Customs Service shall be held in India at such time as the Governor-General in Council may direct.

2. The maximum number of candidates to be admitted to the examination may, at the discretion of the Governor-General in Council, be limited to such number, not being less than 200, as the Governor-General in Council may decide. If the number of candidates exceeds that limit, the Public Service Commission shall select from among the applicants those who shall be admitted to the examination, having regard to the suitability of the applicants for the Services in question.

3. (i) A candidate shall apply to be admitted to the examination before such date, and in such form, as the Governor-General in Council may prescribe.

(ii) If a candidate is employed at the date of his application in Government service he shall make application through the head of his Department to the Local Government if he is employed by the Local Government, or to the Government of India if he is employed in a department under the control of the Government of India.

(iii) If he is not in such service, he shall apply to the authority of the area in which his parents reside at the time of the application or have previously resided for a period of not less than three years, or in which he has himself resided (otherwise than as a student at a University only) for the like period.

The authority of the area to whom application shall be made, shall, if the application is based on residence in a

Governor's province, be the Local Government of that province; if it is based on residence in Coorg, the North West Frontier Province, Delhi or Ajmer-Merwara, be the Chief Commissioner concerned, and, if it is based on residence in a State in India, be the Political Officer or Agent through the Durbar.

(iv) No candidate shall make more than one application in any year.

4. A candidate must be a male who is either (i) a British subject of Indian domicile, who was, and whose father and mother were, born within His Majesty's dominions and allegiance, or (ii) a British subject of Indian domicile whose father was at the time of the candidate's birth and still is (or if dead, continued until his death to be) a British subject or a subject of a State in India, or (iii) a ruler or a subject of a State in India in respect of whom the Governor-General in Council has made a declaration under section 96-A of the Government of India Act.

5. A candidate must have attained the age of 22 and must not have attained the age of 25 on the 1st day of August in the year in which the examination is held, provided that a candidate, over the age of 25 and under the age of 30 on that date, may be admitted to the examination (a) if he holds a substantive post under Government and (b) if he is recommended by the head of his Department.

6. A candidate must be in good mental and bodily health and free from any physical defect likely to interfere with the efficient discharge of his duties and a candidate who is found, after examination by a Medical Board, not to satisfy these requirements, will not be accepted for admission to the examination.

7. A candidate must satisfy the Governor-General in Council that his character is such as to qualify him for employment in the public service. No candidate who is in the employment of Government will be admitted to the examination unless

the report from the head of his Department as to his character and attainments is satisfactory.

* 8. A candidate must hold a Degree of a University approved by the Governor-General in Council or the Senior Diploma of the Mayo College, Ajmere.

In exceptional cases the Public Service Commission may, on the recommendation of the Local Government, treat as a qualified candidate, a candidate who though not possessing any of the foregoing qualifications, has passed examinations conducted by other institutions of a standard which, in the opinion of the Commission, justifies his admission to the examination.

9. No candidate shall be admitted to the examination unless he holds a certificate given by the Public Service Commission of having been accepted for admission.

10. Candidates must pay the following fees :—

- (i) Rs. 5 with the application form ;
- (ii) Rs. 16 for the examination by a Medical Board, and
- (iii) if accepted for admission to the examination, Rs. 50 within three weeks after the notification of acceptance.

No claim for a refund of these fees will be entertained.

* *The following Universities have been approved by the Governor-General in Council, viz.*
Indian Universities.

Any University incorporated by an Act of the Central or a Provincial Legislature in India.

The Mysore University.

The Osmania University.

English and Welsh Universities.

The Universities of Birmingham, Bristol, Cambridge, Durham, Leeds, Liverpool, London, Manchester, Oxford, Sheffield, Wales and Reading.

Scotch Universities.

The Universities of Aberdeen, Edinburgh, Glasgow and St. Andrews.

Irish Universities

The University of Dublin (and Trinity College), the Queen's University of Belfast,

11. The examination will include the following subjects. Each subject carries the number of marks shown against it :—

. *Section A* to be taken by all candidates—

English	...	...	...	...	300
<i>Viva voce</i>	...	...	...	...	200

Section B candidates are allowed to take not more than two of the following subjects, each of which carries a maximum of 400 marks :—

Political Economy and Economic History.

Mathematics (pure and mixed).

Physics.

Chemistry.

Indian and English History.

One of the following classical languages with its literature :—

Latin, Greek, Sanskrit, Arabic and Persian.

12. A candidate who takes Physics or Chemistry as an optional subject must have undergone one year's laboratory training in an institution authorised to prepare candidates in that subject for a University Degree and must send in a voucher to that effect from the head of the Institution.

13. If a candidate's handwriting is not easily legible, a deduction, which may be of considerable amount, will be made on this account from the total marks otherwise accruing to him.

14. A list of competitors shall be made out in order of their proficiency as disclosed by the aggregate marks finally

awarded to each competitor and in that order so many competitors up to the determined number of appointments as are found by the Public Service Commission to be qualified by examination, shall be designated to be selected candidates, provided that the Governor-General in Council is satisfied that the candidate is duly qualified in other respects. Should any selected candidate become disqualified the candidate next in order of merit and in other respects duly qualified shall be deemed to be a selected candidate. The Governor-General in Council will decide to which service a successful candidate shall be assigned, and, in doing so, will, so far as possible, have regard to any preference stated by the candidate.

Ordered that the Resolution be published in the *Gazette of India*.

E. BURDON,
Secy. to the Govt. of India.

No. F. 16-II-R. II.

Copy forwarded to Provincial Governments and Minor Local Governments (including all Agents to the Governor-General and Residents, Hyderabad, Kashmir, Baroda and Gwalior), with the request that it may be communicated to Directors of Public Instruction and all Heads of Colleges in their respective provinces ; the High Commissioner for India ; the several Departments of the Government of India ; the Officer on special Duty, the Public Service Commission ; the Financial Commissioner, Railways ; the Financial Advisers, Military Finance and Posts and Telegraphs ; the Military and Private Secretary to His Excellency the Viceroy ;

the Auditor General ; the Central-Board of Revenue ; the Controller and the Deputy Controllers of the Currency ; the Mint and Assay Masters, and the Master, Security Printing, India.

Copy also forwarded to all Accountants General, the Director of Audit, United Provinces and the Comptroller, Assam ; to all Railway Audit Officers under the control of the Accountant General, Railways ; to the Chief Accounts Officer, East Indian Railway, Calcutta, and the Deputy Chief Accounts Officer, East Indian Railway, Coaching, Lucknow ; Directors of Army and Commercial Audit ; Examiners of Press and Customs Accounts ; all other Audit Officers and all Pay and Accounts Officers.

By order, etc.,

C. N. CHACKRABURTY,

Asst Secy. to the Govt. of India.

HOME DEPARTMENT

NOTIFICATION.

ESTABLISHMENTS.

Simla, the 5th June, 1928.

No. F.-88/2/28.—The following further amendments of the Announcements appended to the Indian Civil Service Probationers' Regulations published with the Home Department Notification No. F.-416-127-Ests., dated the 24th October 1927, are published for general information :—

1. No (iii) has been cancelled and Nos. (iv) and (v) renumbered (iii) and (iv) respectively.

2. The following has been inserted as new No. (v) :—

“A First Class passage to India will be engaged for selected candidates with a view to their proceeding to India after they have signed their covenants.”

H. G. HAIG,

Secy. to the Govt. of India.



OUR VICE-CHANCELLOR

THE CALCUTTA REVIEW

SEPTEMBER, 1928



BRITAIN SETS AN EXAMPLE

(A Vital Industrial Conference.)

If there is one thing more important to Britons all the world over than Empire unity and development it is industrial peace and co-operation. The experiment, then, which is now being tried out in England and which promises to yield such a tremendous success, is of vital interest to every member of the British Commonwealth of Nations.

We refer, of course, to the conference between a representative group of employers and the General Council of the Trades Union Congress, usually referred to as the Mond Conference. During the past six months the progress of this conference has been closely watched not only in Britain but throughout the world. It has recently issued its first joint report, a document which has been hailed on all sides as a landmark in British Industrial history.

To understand the vital nature of the Report we must first know something of the history of the conference itself. It is idle to deny that during the years following the war there was a spirit of unrest and obstruction in British industry. This culminated in the folly of the General Strike and coal dispute of 1926, which, disastrous though it proved, had at least the one

good effect of clearing the air and opening the way to a better state of affairs. Since then there has been an infinitely better spirit abroad. This is proved not only by the speeches of prominent employers and trade union leaders but by actual experience in the works and factories themselves.

It was to reap the full benefits of this new spirit that Sir Alfred Mond, now Lord Melchett, took the courageous step of inviting a group of representative employers and the Council of the Trades Union Congress to meet in conference. He did this because there was no single existing organisation of employers which could take the initiative in inviting discussions to cover the entire field of industrial reorganisation and industrial relations. Lord Melchett is the head of the great Imperial Chemical Combine.

The conference is not primarily a "peace" conference, as many people think. Much of its initial popularity may have been due to the fond hope that it would by some magic process produce peace and goodwill from nowhere, and instil them into the ranks of industry, but the intelligent men on both sides who attended the conference did not go there to do spectacular conjuring tricks. They went there to help to formulate a definite policy for the future of British industry.

The official title of the conference is "The Conference on Industrial Reorganisation and Industrial Relations." The whole field of modern industry is its province. Its importance is further emphasised by the fact that over £1,000,000,000 of capital and over 4,000,000 workers are represented at the joint sittings.

We are now in a position to understand how epoch-making are the provisions of the Report issued after six months' hard work and hard thought in hammering out and seeking an agreement upon the mutual and pressing problem of industry. They represent in short a scientific attempt to solve problems which have hitherto been left to those joint incompetents, muddle and drift.

There is no exaggeration in calling the Report an historical document. If accepted and put into operation, as it should and will be, it will represent a new charter for British industry, a new hope and the dawn of a new era. In any case it will stand permanently as a guide and precedent for all future investigation in the same field.

The keystone of the edifice is the proposed setting up of a National Industrial Council which will hold quarterly meetings and will appoint a standing joint committee for consultation on the widest questions of industry and industrial progress.

This proposal is of first-rate moment because the Council will be the legitimate child born within industry itself and not the bastard offspring of political interference.

From the idea of this Council comes the second important resolution dealing with conciliation machinery in case of disputes. The machinery will take the form of Joint Conciliation Boards on a totally voluntary basis. The advantage of these Boards is that they will enable disputes to be thoroughly and impartially discussed before any appeal is made to force in the shape of strike or lock-out. Above all they will tend to make public opinion the true and natural arbiter in such disputes.

The question of disputes, however, is not the main problem of the conference, but rather the whole field of industrial efficiency. Other resolutions, therefore, deal with trade union recognition, victimisation, and that scientific trend of modern business which is now known as "rationalisation."

A clear lead and an impartial judgment is given on all these questions, and the proposals are the biggest step forward yet made to a solution of these thorny problems. On rationalisation the conference endorses the resolution of the World Economic Conference at Geneva which aims at securing that manufacturers, workers and consumers shall all gain the maximum benefit and suffer the minimum disadvantage from the inevitable growth of a more and more highly scientific and highly systematised industry.

It requires little imagination to grasp the great importance of this new move in industry. As has been said, the root of the whole scheme is the setting up of the National Industrial Council—a sort of Parliament of industry—and the broad basis is the full and authoritative recognition of trade unionism as a helpful factor in modern business organisation.

A new machinery is thus created for the whole of British industrial relations. The National Industrial Council will be equally drawn from the General Council of the Trades Union Congress and from the appropriate employers' associations. It will constitute a permanent and direct machinery for continuous investigation into the widest questions concerning industry and industrial progress. The Joint Conciliation Boards will constitute an emergency machinery for dealing specifically with disputes. They will in no way replace or supersede existing machinery, and they are purely voluntary, because, after long discussion, the element of compulsion was found neither acceptable nor desirable.

Some will think that the most important point of the whole Report is that for the first time trade unionism is recognised officially and uncategorically as an integral and useful part of modern industrial organisation. This means that in the highly scientific, thoroughly "rationalised" industry of the future, the trade unions, far from being eliminated or weakened, will have a definite recognised function, and will, by being more systematised, gain an added strength.

In this new development Britain has set an example not merely to every part of the British Commonwealth of Nations but to the whole world. Although industrial peace is not the sole and primary aim of the conference, yet we now have the biggest contribution to that ideal which has been made for a century. Our friends have cause for gratification and relief, our enemies for regret, denunciation and further venom. •

British industry is undergoing a tremendous process of transition. All the old ideas of fierce competition, of trade

wars, of masters as opposed to men, of owners as opposed to wage-earners, of strikes and lock-outs as effective weapons, are in a state of violent flux and change. Something new is emerging, something more scientific and yet, at the same time, more humane and more democratic. So far, only the broad outline of the new order of things is discernible: the details have still to be crystallised out, resolved and made clear.

It is the function of the conference to assist in this process from the amorphous and chaotic to the orderly and definite. It is in fact not an inquest on industrial strife, but an inquiry into industrial co-operation.

Such an inquiry involves deep research, information on scores of subjects, the compilation of statistics, and the general scientific organisation of the whole investigation. Consider a few of the points on the agenda of the conference. These include the costs of production, the effects of rationalisation, the general scientific organisation of industry; the exact position and responsibilities of the three partners in industry—labour, management and capital; labour's share in the profits and losses of industry, trade union restrictions and the general question of artificial restriction of output, piecework, profit-sharing and payment by results; unemployment and the migration and mobility of labour. They include also scores of other questions from foreign competition and world trade aspects to such domestic details as housing, pensions and sickness insurance, and the arbitration machinery.

Obviously the function of the conference is not to dictate but to indicate. It is earnestly to be hoped that its indications will be ratified firmly by the employers' associations and by the trade unions in due course. The signs are that they will. Otherwise indeed a wonderful chance for the benefit of all engaged in industry will be missed. The work of the conference will carry on. The interim report, significant as it is, but touches a few of the many and vital problems still needing solution.

National conferences on industry are of course no new thing, but previously they have suffered from several defects. In the first place they have been due to government action and interference, a primary and fatal defect ; in the second, they have been too general and airy in scope, avoiding concrete and essential details ; in the third, they have been called in times of industrial stress under direct menace of deadlock and strife, and, in the last place, they have not sufficiently considered the new and changed industrial conditions which must, in fact, be recognised as something in the nature of a revolution, a revolution of science and not of politics.

The whole key to the present conference is knowledge,—knowledge of the new scientific organisation of industry. It is in effect an attempt to show the newly-educated masses of the workers how to take their part in and make fullest use of that education for the strengthening and advancement of national and imperial industry.

Not merely Britain but the whole Empire must hope that this new mission will end in something more than the eyewash and smoke which the lime-lit extremists predict.

A. E. TOMLINSON

REPORT OF THE ECONOMIC COMMITTEE ON COMMERCIAL POLICY

At the session which it held towards the end of June, the Economic Committee decided to address to the Council a report which constitutes a general statement of its doctrine as regards commercial policy, a doctrine which has been drawn up in accordance with the conclusions of the International Economic Conference of May, 1927.

This statement is in three parts, the first dealing with tariff systems and treaty-making methods, the second with the most-favoured-nation treatment and the third concerning collective action with a view to tariff reduction.

PART I.

In the first part, the Committee unanimously recognises that no new tariffs should be instituted nor existing tariffs reorganised without taking account of the effect which the rates or methods of application of these tariffs may have on international trade. However the various States may desire to adapt independently their tariffs to their financial or economic requirements, the Committee considers that they should, nevertheless, not establish them without considering what obstacles they may constitute for international trade. But whereas certain of the members considered that the procedure for this purpose should be that of negotiations with a view to an exchange of tariff guarantees, others maintained that tariff treaties were incompatible with the theory and practice of certain States which claimed the right to make their laws as they wished in this respect, subject to the condition that these laws should be applied without discrimination prejudicial to the interests of any country.

Those members of the Committee who expressed themselves in favour of systems which alone afford the general possibility of negotiating as regards the rates of customs tariffs, propose that States adopting such systems should henceforth consent to negotiate prior to the putting into force of the tariffs and should undertake to revise the rates after negotiation so as to bring them into harmony with the reductions agreed upon by treaty.

The Committee is, nevertheless, of the opinion that the system of unalterable tariffs cannot be considered as contrary to the resolutions of the International Economic Conference so long as tariffs are established with moderation, as is the case for certain countries. This incompatibility would only exist in cases where tariffs which constitute an insurmountable obstacle for foreign trade are established by States which refuse to contemplate reduction by negotiation or which impose constantly varying tariffs upon the trade of other States.

Without taking a decision as regards the principle of unalterable tariffs, the Committee nevertheless considered that States applying this system should be prepared to examine the possible claims of other States and that they should, as far as they considered possible, establish their tariffs for fairly long periods.

The Committee also dwelt with the question of bargaining tariffs, that is to say, autonomous tariffs which may be reduced by treaty, or double column tariffs, which do not exclude adaptation by treaty.

In this connection it unanimously recommended measures which may be stated as follows : Reduction of the margin of negotiation, negotiations prior to the application of tariffs, far-reaching consolidation of tariffs and the conclusion of long-term agreements, the avoidance of constant modifications of a tariff which has formed the basis of a statute established as a result of negotiation.

PART II.

. In the second part the Report states that the different ideas as regards the tariffs and treaty-making methods seem in general bound up with varying ideas of the most-favoured-nation treatment. Whereas certain States which refuse to negotiate with regard to tariffs claim the most-favoured-nation treatment as a preliminary condition for any treaty and as a right which cannot be discussed, other States which have established their tariffs with a view to negotiation and which attach more value to tariff conventions than to the legal guarantee constituted by the most-favoured-nation clause, when accompanied by tariff advantages, consider that the grant of this clause depends upon agreement as regards tariffs.

The Committee considered that the Economic Conference of 1927, had not accepted the idea that equality of treatment was an incontestable right, but it nevertheless could not fail to recognise that the Conference had definitely expressed itself in favour of the reciprocal granting of the most-favoured-nation treatment, of the greatest possible extension of its scope and of an extremely liberal practice as regards its application.

On this subject, as on that of tariff and treaty-making systems, the Committee expressed itself in favour of a compromise rather than a choice between the conflicting theories. It noted that it might be possible to reach unanimity on the principle that most-favoured-nation treatment should be the normal system and that the refusal of this guarantee or the institution of a differential system should only take place when States refuse to pursue an equitable tariff policy or resort to discriminatory practices.

The Committee also dealt with exceptions to the most-favoured-nation clause and the report sets forth its conclusions as regards customs unions, the establishment of a preferential, colonial or imperial tariff, the preferential system between States with national, historical or geographical bonds, and the special case of trade between frontier zones.

The report further describes the position as regards certain studies which are not yet terminated and which will continue on the following questions : the drafting of the clause, reprisals in the event of certain exceptions considered as illegal, certain exceptions as regards the obligations resulting from the clause and the effect of the most-favoured-nation clause in bilateral treaties upon multi-lateral treaties.

PART III.

The third part of the Report draws attention to the fact that the resolutions of the Economic Conference laid stress upon the necessity of bringing about a reduction of tariffs, not only by bi-lateral agreements but also by the collective action of States. Various systems were contemplated for the gradual reduction of all tariffs by a definite percentage.

During the discussion it nevertheless became clear that the time was not yet ripe for a general reduction of tariffs and the Committee felt that it would be preferable first to study specific cases and to test the value of the methods and systems put forward.

Noting the results of the Conference on hides and bones, the Committee recognised that for the settlement of certain questions, different methods had been selected and sometimes combined. It considered that the recommendation of the International Economic Conference for concerted action of States with a view to a general and simultaneous reduction of customs tariffs should not be lost sight of, but that it was indispensable to advance gradually so as to secure as a result of well conducted experiments the gradual adherence of the nations to a general system of tariff reduction.

The Committee accordingly selected a number of key-industrial products and also certain foodstuffs in regard to which it will undertake, in collaboration with the Sub-Committee on Customs Nomenclature, preliminary investigations with a view

to a study of a concerted reduction of tariffs. These enquiries will take place with the assistance of the Secretariat, and for each product will be conducted by a special *rapporteur*.

The products selected are aluminium, semi-manufactured iron products, cement, leather, log and sawn wood, cellulose and paper, fresh fruits and vegetables and rice.

Received by the Editor from
SOCIÉTÉ DES NATIONS, Section d' Information, GENEVE.
(League of Nations, Information Section, Geneva.)



TRUTH IN HEART

(From the Bengalee of Ram Mohan Roy.)

I grant most beautiful thou art
And wealth untold thy household's part.
No limits can thy kingdom bind.
Now this reflection take to mind—
O, what shall follow then in death?
All shalt thou lose when losing breath.
Then lend thou ear to what I say—
Be free of pride and falsehood's sway,
Embrace dispassion with thy mind
And Truth supreme let heart thine find!

MOHINI MOHAN CHATTERJEE

SOME PROBLEMS OF INDIAN CONSTITUTIONAL REFORM

The long expected and the much talked of Royal Commission has been appointed with a flourish of trumpets "to enquire into the working of the system of government, the growth of education, and the development of representative institution in British India and matters connected therewith" and the Commission shall report "as to whether and to what extent it is desirable to establish the principle of responsible government, or to extend, modify or restrict the degree of responsible government then existing therein, including the question whether the establishment of Second Chamber of the local Legislature is or is not desirable."

Much ink and paper has been wasted over the question of the personnel of the Commission which has been purely Parliamentary and British in character. People who have never stood on the same political platform have joined in a chorus of protest against the Parliamentary Commission, of course on very different grounds. The non-co-operators would have nothing to do with it as a part of their religion of "hands off," the Swarajists would have nothing to do with it as it is based on the principle of denying the people of India their birthright of self-determination or to quote one prominent Swarajist leader who has made the position quite clear in the following words:— "Ever since the Government of India Act of 1919 passed into the Statute Book of the British Parliament, the people of India have constantly repudiated the principle enunciated in the preamble of that enactment, namely that it should be for the British Parliament to determine 'the time and manner' of each step that India should be permitted to take on the road of 'the progressive realisation of responsible government.'*** Two things we desire to make clear. Firstly, our objection to the

Commission is in no sense technical, we adhere to the principle that it is for the people of India to frame India's constitution.*** Secondly, *the appointment of a few Indians on the Commission would not have made it more acceptable to Nationalist India.*" From this attitude of Nationalist India we pass on by slow steps to those whose objections are based on personal grounds and who can be pacified by the simple inclusion of one or two of their own ilk.

On the other hand, the Home Government has sought to justify the personnel on the ground of securing impartiality and unanimity which would not be possible if Indians were included in the Commission.

While much may be said on both sides of the question we think it is only a minor issue, not deserving a fraction of the importance it has acquired. The main issues in connection with the problem of self-government of India have been allowed to drop out of sight in the smoke of controversy it has raised. It is time for both the children of the soil as well as the foreign rulers to pause and think what is the real nature of the ailment in body politic, the exact spot where the shoe really pinches. To frame a constitution for a population of three hundred million souls, of diverse races and religions, speaking a medley of tongues, at different stages of culture, with traditions often antagonistic in character—is no easy task. It requires years of patient study and close contact with the people, together with a sympathetic and unbiassed attitude and mutual co-operation which are hardly possible between those placed in the relationship of rulers and the ruled. His Majesty's Government in the famous declaration of August 1917 has distinctly accepted the policy of putting India on the path of self-government but they have started at the wrong end. Let us assume for the moment the sincerity of purpose of the British people. Assuming that, we cannot escape the conclusion that they have acted hastily; they committed an error of judgment, in thinking that a little dilution of the hierarchical form of government with the

rudiments of popular responsibility will satisfy the people of India. They have fixed their attention more on the machinery of the government than on the psychology of the people. So they inaugurated the Reforms in an atmosphere of rancour and bitterness, jealousy and mutual distrust, and carried it on in the face of opposition of a considerable and important section of politically-minded India, consoling themselves all the while that it was a passing phase.

The installation of the Reforms Commission is also a logical continuation of the same policy. Whether the discontent or opposition be reasonable or not—and that is a matter of opinion—the fact is patent that the Commission is being thrust on the people of India as an unwelcome guest. The Commission may go on in its work, obtain its data in Himalayan indifference to the apathy and antagonism of the Indian people and in due time submit its report to the British Parliament which may in turn pass another Act based on it, expanding or contracting the extent of “self-government” already granted to India, and so far as legal forms go it may pass as the constitution of India. But would it, we may ask, bring peace and content to the people of India? Would it touch even the fringe of the many acute problems in the social and political life of India which it is the avowed object of His Majesty’s Government to achieve? The Reforms were set in operation under evil auspices, even if we admit for the moment that it was a step in the right direction and taken after full and careful study of the Indian situation,—which it would of course be too rash to admit. All parties at Home or in India agree tacitly or implicitly that it has been a failure or at least has not achieved the degree of success it was expected to do. Englishmen and Anglo-Indians would perhaps reply that it has not been given a fair trial; but it is simply begging the question,—why has it been denied fair trial, pray?

The British Government, the Anglo-Indian community, the Civil Service and, for the matter of that, a section of Indian people have not been sparing in their efforts to make it a success

on a point of " zid " ; yet why has it looked like an exotic growth, sapless and moribund, dragging on its existence somehow by the external impulse of a mighty foreign Government ?

Simply because it has not its roots deep in the undercurrents of Indian life : it has no response from the soul of India : it is like a plant engrafted on a foreign body and therefore withering away from lack of organic connection with the main trunk. What the Simon Commission has been enjoined by the terms of reference to do is simply to enquire into the nature of working or growth of the plant that has been foisted on the trunk of Indian life or, to put it shortly, to whip a dead horse so as to make it run at any cost. We make bold to say no Commission on earth, however well-intentioned or sympathetic to Indian aspirations it may be, can render any service to India if it be bound by the terms of reference which have been laid down by His Majesty's Government. Many and most intricate are the problems awaiting solution which must be thoroughly investigated with a sympathetic and unbiassed frame of mind before remedies can be prescribed for the many ills that the Indian body politic is a prey to. We do not care the least for the personnel of the Commission provided it has a sincerity of purpose,—let it be a Gandhi Commission or a Nehru Commission or a Jinnah Commission or a Jayakar Commission or even an O'Dwyer Commission—the problems that lie before it are the same. We do not propose to frame a draft constitution for India, for that is not so important as a thorough and impartial study of the political outlook of India and (we) propose to discuss in outlines some of the more important problems that face a Commission intent on reorganising the constitutional and administrative machinery of India.

The first and foremost problem before any Reforms Commission both in point of priority as well as importance is to know the mind of India. At this point the question might be raised whether India has got a mind to speak out. That is of course a debatable point on which no final answer can be given and the

answer will depend on our conception of nation and national mind. The mere fact of internal discord or diversities in race, language, culture, traditions, etc., does not necessarily imply the absence of that unity which nationality and national mind postulate. At the time divided counsels may prevail, there may be discord and disunity and India may not give out her demands with one voice ; but there is no denying the fact that the heterogeneous people of India have become conscious of a unity amidst diversity—at least they have come to realise that in the realisation of this unity lies their salvation, although certain extraneous factors stand in its way just now. If we carefully study the history of India under British rule we shall find that it is the history of a people trying to realise their unity, to assert themselves as a nation.

The reactionaries at Home point out that the teeming millions of India have no political aspirations of their own, they are quite satisfied with their lot; but that is a positive and flagrant distortion of truth actuated by self-interested motives. Of course, illiterate and uneducated as they are, they are not as a class vocal,—they cannot definitely formulate their aspirations—but one who runs may see that they are not satisfied with the present form of government; it is clearly indicated by the readiness with which they responded to the call of the Swadeshi movement or the non-co-operation movement and the occasional hartals. Even the worst types of reactionaries realise in their heart of hearts, if they do not give out in so many words, that the non-co-operation movement, however it may have been a failure otherwise, has undermined the prestige of the Government in the mass mind of India and it is this psychological element of confidence in the government on which ordered government rests everywhere in the world. The die-hard politicians would retort that it is the 'agitators' who work them up into fury, but that is again begging the question—why do the agitators find them so easy a prey unless they have some real grievances? May be they do not understand the issues, they blindly follow

the leaders without judging the *pros* and *cons*—and this is the case more or less everywhere in the world that many are led by the few,—yet that does not alter our position that they are not quite contented with their lot,—they want some change which they cannot definitely formulate.

But if the masses do not know their own mind, the situation is no more satisfactory among the intelligentsia. Different sections of politically minded people of India think differently on their political salvation. They are not only at variance as regards their ultimate aim but also as regards the means to that end. Thus the most radical section is in favour of complete independence; another section is in favour of *swaraj* either with-in or without the Empire; others are in favour of immediate Dominion status; others again in favour of responsible government by stages. The *modus operandi* also differ from one pole to another : violence, non-violent non-co-operation, responsive co-operation, constitutional agitation and co-operation at any cost. No one scheme has been presented up to this day formulating the constitutional demands of the people which has got the seal of approbation of all sections of political thought in the country. At the same time they are all more or less agreed that the present system of government must go and make place for a *swaraj* government; the difficulty lies in defining *swaraj* in such a way as to meet the aspirations of all sections. This is the greatest problem of Indian Constitutional Reform. The task is almost superhuman and to be successful the Commission of Enquiry must start with a frame of mind free from all bias and full of genuine sympathy for the aspirations of all classes and interests in India. They must go to the masses as well as classes, sound their mind, work out a scheme which may be acceptable to all and also lay the basis of a united India. Only if they approach the people in this spirit can they bridge the gulf that separates Indians from their rulers and dispel the atmosphere of distrust and suspicion that stands in the way of investigation of any Reforms Commission. We need not

anticipate the conclusion that a Commission starting in its investigations with the problem "What India really wants" may reach, but from facts at our disposal, at least judging from appearances, we may venture a guess of our own. To our mind the only solution of the problem consistent with sound statesmanship, practical expediency, as well as satisfaction of Indian aspirations, is the immediate grant of full Dominion status with all its implications as elucidated at the last Imperial Conference. The Inter-Imperial Relations Committee defined the *status* of self-governing units of the British Empire as "autonomous community within the British Empire equal in status, in no way subordinate one to another in any aspect of their domestic and external affairs, though united by a common allegiance to the Crown and freely associated as members of the *British Commonwealth of Nations*." They are to be bound by ties of free co-operation under the Crown which would serve as the golden link for the whole Empire. Of course *equality of status does not involve equality of functions*.¹

Practically all shades of Indian political opinion, excepting one radical section consisting of a few hotheads who demand complete independence, have explicitly or implicitly declared in favour of Dominion status. What the nationalists quarrel about at present is not what is likely to be the finding of the Commission but the spirit of the British Government appointing the Commission—that excess of zeal for the assertion of the sovereignty of Parliament,—a fruit of the original sin embodied in the preamble of the Government of India Act—which has found vent even in the speech of the Viceroy, couched though it is in the mildest and most restrained terms. "There are of course some," the Viceroy observed, "who would wholly deny the moral right of Parliament to be the tribunal in this cause, but as I have said more than once, however much I may respect many of

¹ For other recommendations of the Committee, see Round Table, March, 1926.

those who take this view, *I do not pretend to be able to reconcile it with the actual situation which we to-day have to consider* " (meaning of course the sovereignty of British Parliament over India) *****. He further points out, " The good will (of Parliament) would naturally be a factor of immense importance in determining the attitude of Parliament towards these questions.***** And yet it is certain that agitation fostered and promoted by methods which have led to grave occurrences in the past is bound to breed serious misgivings in the *mind of the British Parliament with whom at present lies the final decision in Indian political affairs.*" The Viceroy thrusts his finger into the eyes of the Indian politicians, as it were, and says, " The British Parliament is your sovereign lord ; you must sit with folded hands at its feet in the attitude of supplication and must accept whatever the Parliament in its benignity thinks proper to give you." That is the attitude that Indian politicians strongly deprecate, that fostered the movement for " Hands off."

No one denies the fact of sovereignty of Parliament because Sovereignty is after all a question of force and force is on the side of the British people; but how that shuts the door to a round-table conference between its representatives and representatives of India on equal terms passes our comprehension. India would be satisfied with far less concessions that such a free conference decides upon than what a Commission, based on the negation of India's moral right to be a party to the working out of her own destiny, may think fit to concede. However we have assumed that our Commission would be of the type of a free conference suggested above enjoying the confidence of all schools of thought in India and let us further assume that it arrives at the conclusion that what India wants is Dominion status. Let us examine what other problems will immediately face the Commission in its wake.

The next fundamental question before the Commission would be whether democracy is suited to Indian conditions at

all and if so what form of democracy is likely to thrive in Indian soil, i.e., whether the form that it has taken in Western countries is likely to succeed in India also or should it be modified to some extent in the light of India's past history and traditions. We must test the capacity of the soil to bear the superstructure raised. Evidences are conflicting on this point; many scholars are of opinion that democratic institutions never flourished in Indian soil, while many Indian scholars and foreign indologists have proved by their research that the idea of democracy is not foreign to India—that both in central and in local government democratic institutions, such as *gana*, *puga*, *sabha*, *sangha* and latterly *panchayets*, etc., thrived quite strong in ancient India. However that may be, the burden of evidence points to the fact that in ancient India government was highly centralised revolving round one central figure—the king—but not undiluted with democratic institutions. It would be as much a mistake to say that the idea of democracy was quite foreign to India as to say that government was essentially democratic in character; but there is no denying the fact that the spirit of democracy was feeble in the Indian social system, highly hierarchical in character as it was. But we need not rest our argument for or against democracy solely on the ground that society or government in ancient India was democratic or undemocratic, although in order to go to the root of the problem this should not escape our notice altogether; but we should mainly build on our present materials. The impact of western civilisation has wrought a revolution in the realm of thought and ideals of the Indian people, which has reacted on their social and political outlook. The question before the Commission would be whether Western ideals have so far saturated Indian life as to prepare the ground for the successful operation of democratic institutions of the West or whether India still retains some characteristics of her own which demand a synthesis of Eastern and Western ideals and therefore a modification of the institutions as they obtain in the West.

By far the most outstanding and complex issue before the Commission is what may be compressed in one phrase,—“Social Problem.” Much capital is recently being made by those who are apathetic to India’s political aspirations out of one phase of this problem, *viz.*, Hindu-Moslem dissensions. We are moreover reminded in season and out of season that Swaraj is an idle dream so long as India is divided into diverse sects and communities. But no serious student of history would broach the proposition to-day that national self-government is impracticable of attainment where religious, communal or sectarian dissensions prevail. Far be it from us to minimise the gravity of the problem or to deny its existence; on the contrary, we quite appreciate that it is the greatest of all problems facing a serious student of Indian politics; but at the same time we do not think that the ideal of national self-government or Swaraj is quite incompatible with such diversity. India is *par excellence* a land of many communities and interests. Now, no nation is so completely homogeneous as to be composed of one single community; so far India’s position is not something peculiar. But while in other countries people think the nation a higher entity than the community and sacrifice the interests of the community at the altar of the nation, unfortunately for India, people here are much too obsessed with exclusive group-consciousness to look beyond the interests of the community to the larger interests of the nation. It is only when the different communities would come to think of the nation first and community next or merge their communal consciousness in national self-consciousness—and the two are by no means incompatible as is borne out by instances abroad, *e.g.*, in U.S.A., Canada, Ireland, etc.,—that Indian nationhood would become a reality. As it is, the different communities, the Hindus, Muslims, Sikhs, Indian Christians, Anglo-Indians, Parsees and the “depressed classes” are haunted by a lurking suspicion in their mind as to their position under the scheme of Swaraj and want guarantees for the protection of their “special”

interests against the aggression of the majority community in each area in the shape of communal electorates, reservation of seats, representation on proportional basis in the services, etc. The Government's policy has been so far to concede these special concessions to the minority groups and specially to the biggest minority, viz., the Muslims, whether out of an honest motive for the protection of their interests or only in pursuance of a policy of 'divide and rule' Providence alone can tell. But whatever be the motive behind it, that the policy is erroneous in theory and dangerous in practice has been amply illustrated by the experience of the last few years. Instead of pacifying the minority communities it has simply raised their expectations to preposterous heights, helped to enliven their communal consciousness at the cost of the national sentiment, reduced politics to mere intrigue and job-hunting and finally broadened the gulf between the different communities a thousand times more instead of bridging it over. All serious students of Indian politics of whatever camp, if only not obsessed with class consciousness, have realised the dangerous possibilities of this policy. Even Mr. Montague and Lord Chelmsford were not blind to these facts and recommended communal electorates under force of circumstances only as a temporary expedient to be superseded by joint electorates as soon as feelings in the country took a better turn. It would not be inappropriate to quote some passages from the report. "We conclude unhesitatingly," they say, "that the history of self-government among nations is decisively against the admission by the State of any divided allegiance, against the State's arranging its members in any way which encourages them to think of themselves primarily as citizens of any smaller unit than itself.***Divisions by creeds and classes means the creation of political camps organised against each other and teaches men to think as partisan and not as citizens; and it is difficult to see how the change from this system to national representation is ever to occur."

"A minority which is given a special representation owing

to its weak and backward state is positively encouraged to settle down into a feeling of satisfied security, it is under no inducement to educate and qualify itself to make good the ground which it has lost compared with the stronger majority. The give-and-take which is the essence of political life is lacking. There is no inducement to the one side to forbear or to the other to exert itself. The communal system stereotypes existing relations." But inspite of these strong objections they were forced to create communal electorates for fear of going back on the pledge given by Lord Minto to the Muhammadans ; and once the vicious circle has been started it shows signs of perpetuating itself. As Lord Meston has pointed out in a recent article, " That members of a legislature should occupy seats assigned to them by virtue of their religion to which they have been elected by their co-religionists only offends against all democratic theory and yet in practice there has been no escape from it." The question of how to reconcile the conflicting claims of communities and interests with a scheme of national self-government will absorb the keenest attention of any Commission of enquiry on Indian constitutional reforms and opinion would differ as to its solution but this much can be said that no Commission, sincerely trying to find a remedy, will prescribe special representation on communal lines. In our opinion, the problem has its root deep in the psychology of the people and can be solved only by a change of heart as between the different communities, by the removal of the spirit of mutual suspicion and jealousy and the growth of a feeling of give-and-take on which alone a strong civic sense can develop. When Hindus can safely entrust their interests to Muslims and *vice versa*, then and then only will Swaraj be something real and living. This cannot be attained by artificial means such as special representation or reservation of seats in legislature or the services or, for the matter of that, by unity conferences or pacts. If anything can prove useful in that direction, it is the spread of education and propaganda by a band of sincere men

imbued with a spirit of service to the motherland. But the question may be raised, how are we to square with facts as they are till the ideal condition is reached? It is very difficult to give a satisfactory answer to it; the only thing that can be said is that the case for the different communities requires different treatment. As regards the smaller communities such as the Sikhs, Parsees, Indian Christians, etc., no provision should be made for separate representation; they would best rely on the fair sense of the legislators for the representation of their interests. There is no reason why if suitable candidates be forthcoming from amongst them, they should not be elected from a general constituency. As regards the depressed classes, the rapid change in social outlook of the Hindu community which has found expression in the resolutions adopted in the successive sessions of the All-India Social Conference regarding removal of untouchability, interdining, intermarriage, etc., and a general desire on the part of the intelligentsia to claim them as their weaker brothers and to ameliorate their social, intellectual and moral conditions, is taking the sting off the charge that their interests would be ignored at the hands of the Hindu intellectuals who look down upon them. As regards the European and Anglo-Indian communities it passes our comprehension how they can lay claim to any sort of special representation in the national legislatures of India, as they have no stake in the country and by no stretch of imagination can their interests ever be made identical with the national interests of India. Their only connection with the country is of an economic character and opportunities may be provided for representation of their economic interests through the special constituencies, such as Trades Association, Chamber of Commerce, etc. Of course I do not mean to say that the Indian legislators should not take into account their point of view when legislating but for that they may depend on the fair sense of the legislators of whatever community they may be.

As regards the biggest minority group in India, *viz.*, the

Moslems, the question raises many complications which it is not possible to discuss fully within this short paper; but we may state that, pending the ideal condition of complete fusion of the political interests of all communities, there should be joint electorates with reservation of seats for Moslems on the basis of population.

From this intricate and complex problem of minority groups we may pass on to another question of importance very much akin in character, *viz.*, the position of the Civil Service. Irresponsible and bureaucratic type of government depends for its success mainly on a trained and efficient band of public servants in the absence of an ever-watchful public opinion. So has it been the case with the Indian Government in the past. In democratic countries there is an organised and vigilant public opinion which brings the administration to account for the least dereliction of duty. This serves to root out abuses in the system and prevents it from falling into soulless routine and red-tape. In India, in the absence of representative institutions and popular control, the public services have grown into a rigid hierarchy with a class consciousness. To give the devil its due, the public services, especially the Indian Civil Service, have been noted for their efficiency in administration though not free from the vices of bureaucratic government, but for that the system is to blame. Indeed such tributes as have been paid by British statesmen such as Lloyd George when he said that "it is the steel frame of Indian government" or Montague and Chelmsford when they described it as "the parent and the mainstay of the existing system"—although liable to misinterpretation—are not altogether unmerited.

Now the problem is how to reconcile the vested interests of the services, specially the European element in it, with the scheme of responsible government under popular control, and the rising Indian aspirations which have found one of its outlets in an increasing demand for the Indianisation of the services. The problem was sidetracked for a time by the Montague-

Chelmsford Reforms which, while accepting the principle of increasing association of Indians in the services as an integral part of the scheme of gradual realisation of responsible government, provided at the same time for the retention of a considerable European element for an indefinite time, creating special rights, privileges and immunities for the protection of their interests. The situation has been far from satisfactory—either to the services or to the people. The idea of serving under Indian ministers has not from the beginning been very palatable for the services, accustomed as they have been not to brook any sort of popular control. So they have been more and more clamorous for better terms and conditions of service as a compensation which the die-hards at home have only been too ready to concede and which Indian opinion has bitterly resented till a veritable class-jealousy has developed against the order, which is far from beneficial to sound administration. Then, again, Indian ministers have been put in a very anomalous position of working with subordinates who are not under their disciplinary control. Many ministers have complained against this vicious system as an obstacle to their efficient working before the Muddiman Committee. The argument for securing them special rights and privileges and better conditions of service has been that otherwise the right type of Englishmen, whose services will be almost indispensable for piloting the reforms in the initial stages and teaching Indians in the art of self-government would not be available. Even admitting for argument's sake the desirability of retaining some European element in the services which is itself a very debatable question we refuse to believe that Europeans cannot be induced to accept service without these special rights and privileges on conditions which have proved sufficiently alluring for over a century to British youths seeking a career abroad. It is for the Commission to settle the pace of Indianisation of services which is a concomitant of the introduction of popular government and to assign to it a proper place in the constitution.

The next important problem of Indian Constitutional Reform centres round the question of the form of government. It would not do to brush aside the question by quoting the words of the poet,

“ For forms of government let fools contest
That which is best administered is best.”

For India it is a very important question involving many complicated issues. In devising the suitable form of government, we must keep in view above all one consideration, *viz.*, that we must try to build the future as far as possible on the basis of the present condition, with as little shock to the existing structure as possible, consistent with the best interests of the nation. The first thing to determine is whether the national government is to be of Presidential type as in U. S. A., or of Parliamentary type on the model of England and self-governing Dominions. Both considerations of political expediency as well as experience elsewhere in the Empire point to the efficacy of the latter type. First of all, presidential type does not quite well fit in with the scheme of the imperial system. Secondly, the past history and tradition of India is not quite favourable for such division of control as the presidential form of government postulates. Then, again, the existing structure of governmental machinery in India lends itself more easily to conversion into Parliamentary type than to the presidential type, with a few changes in name, powers and functions of the existing institutions.

The next question to be settled is the choice between unitary and federal form. This has given rise to great controversy. Of course, the past history of India as well as her geographical situation speak in favour of a strong centralised government, but a great volume of opinion has grown up in India in favour of decentralisation or, what is called in common parlance, provincial autonomy which can be best satisfied by the federal type. Even if we decide in favour of the federal

type we are faced with the further questions whether the provinces of India should be left as they are or their boundaries should be redrawn on ethnic and linguistic considerations as has been demanded by the Indian National Congress and also what principle should be followed in the matter of distribution of powers and functions between the central and local governments. Of course these are very big questions, full and detailed treatment of which is impossible within the scope of this paper; but if we are to state our opinion briefly we may say with regard to the first question that it is best to maintain the *status quo* in view of the great practical and administrative difficulties involved in reconstituting the provinces and in view of the fact that already the provinces have developed a local patriotism which it would be best not to disturb and which would make each of them an organic unity both in the management of its internal affairs as well as in relation to the central government. As regards the next question, *viz.*, the principle of distribution of powers we think that the best thing would be to grant the provinces autonomy in the management of purely local matters and certain agency duties on behalf of the central government which should be definitely enumerated and to vest in the central government all the residuary functions with specific enumeration of certain classes of functions, *viz.*, those concerning the nation as a whole and a general oversight of the local governments. In one word, we advocate federalism of the Canadian type instead of the Australian. So far as internal administration is concerned, the provincial executive consisting of a Governor with a Cabinet responsible to the provincial legislature, preferably bicameral in character, should be quite free from the control of the central government enjoying a separate purse of its own to draw upon. The central executive should be completely responsible to the central legislature and should be vested with all powers necessary "for discharging all its duties in normal times and preserving internal peace and order. As regards defence, for some time to come

at least the central government would have to depend on the Home Government but steps should be taken towards the building of a national militia and navy to be controlled by the central government. In common with all other problems affecting imperial interests, in questions of organisation of the army and navy, the central government should act in close collaboration with the Imperial Government in Britain and other parts of the Empire. We have tried only to sketch the outlines of the plan on which governmental powers may be apportioned between the central and local governments which would have to be filled in detail in order to make it a consistent whole.

One other question that arises in this connection which we cannot possibly ignore because of its outstanding importance, is that of financial settlement between the central government and the provinces. The success of federalism depends much on reducing the chances of friction to a minimum and that can be done by assigning to each a purse quite separate and independent of the others,' and at the same time elastic enough to meet the growing needs of each. This is of course a very difficult and delicate task, specially in a country like India where each province has its peculiar fiscal problems. It is not for us to work out the details of a scheme that will satisfy this condition, but we may point out that the present arrangement has been far from happy. We may do no better than quote in this connection the words of the Finance Member of Bengal in his last budget speech and what he has said of Bengal applies more or less to other provinces too. Thus he says, "The Financial Settlement was wrong *ab initio* and treated Bengal most unfairly and that it was largely owing to the shortness of funds that the working of the reformed constitution in Bengal has been so hampered and that ministers have found it so difficult to carry on."

“ Unless a complete revision of the financial system is done I am convinced that all parties in province will be unanimous in thinking that the successful working of the new constitution will be impossible in Bengal, however good that constitution may be in other ways.”

Last, but by no means the least, we have to confront another problem very complex and at the same time delicate in character, *viz.*, the position of the native states in the new polity of India.

The problem of native princes is unique to India as compared with other parts of the British Empire, unique alike in its constitutional importance as well as in its many-sided character. We need not go into an historical survey of the different stages through which they have come to occupy their present position consequent on the change in policy of the British Government towards them, beginning from non-intervention in matters beyond its ring-fence to one of union and co-operation on their part with the paramount power. Their present status is not at all uniform, defined as it is by the treaties, engagements and Sanads entered into with the British Government which present endless variety. On the whole the general position may be summed up in the words of the authors of the Montford Report, “ The States are guaranteed security from without, the paramount power acts for them in relation to foreign powers and other states, and it intervenes when the internal peace of their territories is seriously threatened. On the other hand the states’ relations to foreign powers are those of a paramount power ; they share the obligation for common defence ; and they are under a general responsibility for the good government and welfare of their territories.”

From this we may see that although there are many points of contact between them and the British Indian Government, and although as paramount power the British Indian Government may intervene in their internal administration in case of misrule or gross misconduct, yet their administrative machinery is not

organically connected with the administrative system of British India, for inspite of the different stages of development "the characteristic features of all of them are the personal rule of the Prince and his control over legislation and the administration of justice." This position can be maintained only as long as there is one common paramount power, *viz.*, His Majesty's Government in Britain both over British India as well as the native states, but the whole position requires a re-examination with the shifting of political centre of gravity from Whitehall to Delhi. Various complicated issues arise at this point. Should the native states stand apart from the reformed Indian constitution or should they become an organic part of the Indian national government? In the latter alternative how to fit them into the scheme of self-government in India consistent with the treaty stipulations with the Crown, specially in view of their sensitiveness to the least encroachment on what they regard as their close preserve? Lastly, should they be treated on the same basis or different treatment should be applied in accordance with the variety in size, importance and administrative progress. These are questions of momentous significance which cannot be answered offhand and to which it is not possible to do full justice within the compass of a short paper.

The first position, of course, we may summarily dismiss as absurd on the following grounds. First of all, there are many things of common interest to settle between them and Indian Government such as the problem of defence, customs tariff, post and telegraphs, railways and exchange in which there is a tendency to closer co-operation. Now closer economic union which is inevitable together with complete political dissociation is all but unthinkable. In case of disputes relating to such matters the intervention of the Home Government would be incompatible with the dominion status of India.

The problem is further complicated by their geographical situation. Had they formed one compact block in one corner of India, it would have been possible to keep them apart from the

mainland somewhat on the lines of northern Ireland *vis-à-vis* the Irish Free State. As it is, not only geographically but also historically India is a unity. The people of the native states are bound up with the people of India by ties of kinship, language, religion, economic interests, etc. It is not conceivable therefore that momentous constitutional changes in India will leave the native states unaffected—that while their brothers take rapid strides in the path of self-government the people of the native states will live contented under autocracy no matter whether benevolent or malevolent.

But while we look forward to an Indian federation of which provinces and native states would be self-governing units we do not advocate equal treatment to all of the states. In case of the very small states considerations of administrative expediency dictate their absorption in the provinces in which they are located. The native rulers may be made into landlords with some special privileges and honours as a compensation. As regards the comparatively bigger and more important states a plebiscite should be taken to determine whether they should become parts of the provinces or remain as separate entities with internal autonomy ; for while there are many rulers who are reduced copies of Charles I, rolling in luxury and given to self-indulgence at the cost of the subjects for whose amelioration they do nothing, there are others who do everything in their power for the betterment of their subjects and under whom the subjects are in many respects better off than even people in British India ; it is in the interests of the people of such states as well as of Indian Empire as a whole that the services of such rulers should be utilised.

The states where the people give their verdict in favour of the princes may take their place in the constitutional system on the same basis as the provinces. The princes may be made into hereditary governors with some special privileges and honours assured to them. As regards the others they should be treated in the same way as the smaller princes, their territories being

absorbed in the provinces. Much has been made of the sanctity of the treaties and engagements with the Crown but I do not see any earthly reason for making a fetish of them. If the welfare of thousands of people demand a modification or even complete repudiation of the treaties the so-called sanctity of treaty engagements should not stand in the way, for treaties between a sovereign power and its protégé are after all mere scraps of paper.

There is one other point to consider in this connection, *viz.*, the standpoint of the princes when they show their reluctance to cast in their lot with the indigenous government of India. It has been ably put by one Mr. Rice in a recent article in Quarterly Review: "The princes are faced by a change not of allegiance for that is to King-Emperor nor of subordinate alliance for that is with the Crown but of the agency by which the existing policy is controlled. There will be a transfer of paramount power from the English government of India to a *body of men whom the princes may well regard as standing on an equality with their own subjects.*" But I am at a loss to make out any point in their objection to control by an Indian government simply on the score of its personnel. Even now that objection should apply, for the present personnel is recruited from the middle class gentry of England who might as well be their subjects. The whole thing is based on misconception. If they have to submit to the control of Indian government the control comes not from the persons who man the administration but from an institution.

Such in outlines are some of the most important problems of Indian Constitutional Reform. We do not pretend that they exhaust the whole list of such problems but our point is that no Commission entrusted with an enquiry into the question of Indian Constitutional Reform can fulfil its mission without thoroughly going into these problems in all their bearings. We have simply mooted the problems and it is quite possible that our analysis of the problems may have been wrong as we are not

in possession of sufficient data which the complexity of the problems requires to work upon ; yet they may be useful so far as they go to suggest lines of investigation for students of the Indian political situation.¹

AKSHOY KUMAR GHOSAL

ARMoured ROSES

Oh rose incarnadined, gracious and proud,
Rising free on your slender stem, lovely
And alluring ; are you glad that thorns must
Pierce the one who snatches you wantonly,
Ere he presses your sweet face to his lips ?
So would I hurt him who loves me, lest he
Think me bold ; so would I pierce his heart with
Tiny thorns of pain made exquisite, and
Then forgotten, when he gathered me at last !
For he who fears the thorns, should never pluck
The rose, while he who sees them not, nor cares,
Must win more worthily, knowing the rose
More sweet that she protects her beauty from
The rough touch of the undeserving one.

LILY S. ANDERSON

¹ A paper read at a meeting of the Dacca University Economic Association on the 25th February, 1928.

ROBERT BURNS

SCOTLAND'S PLOUGHMAN POET

Those of us who have been fortunate enough to come into contact with the writings of Robert Burns can testify without hesitation to his undoubted genius. Each of his poems shines with the polish of lyrical perfection. When we read his sad poems we are sad with him, when we look at his lighter works, our hearts bound with the joy and merriment that was once the poet's own delight. He was born to very poor parents in the year 1759 at Kyle in the county of Ayre. As soon as was possible Robert was put to work on a farm, until in early youth we find him wielding the plough with the dexterity of a man, and working hard from morn till night thrashing and preparing corn and seed for sale. But for his father Robert might never have been the great man he grew to be in after years ; his father rigidly believed in education, and worked until he was able to send Robert to a small school at Alloway Miln, where the poet excelled himself in every subject,—in reading, writing and arithmetic—and took rank above several who were his seniors. It was at Mossgiel that Robert first became known in the neighbourhood as a maker of rhymes. An excellent farmer though he was (for few could equal him) it will be seen that the man who stops to write verses on the frisking of his sheep when he should be driving them to pasture—who pauses to write an ode about the horse he should be saddling—and who lingers to write a ballad on his prettiest reaper, can have but little chance of ever becoming a successful farmer. And this was the case with Robert Burns ; whilst labour held his body, poetry held his soul, and was slowly but very surely obtaining a grip on his very life, changing him hourly and daily into that dreamer and idealist Nature intended him to be. Various subjects first awaken the

poetic Muse in men who afterwards become poets. With Robert it was Love that first stirred him to the depths of his soul. He jotted down, in a little note-book, lines in praise of a fair-haired girl, a partner in the stubble-field, and from whose delicate white hands he used to extract the thistle stings. Very few of the earlier poems of Robert Burns have been preserved, but here is one of them, and one which showed promise even then:—

I dreamed I lay where flowers were springing,
 Gaily in the sunny beam,
 Listening to the wild birds singing
 By a falling crystal stream.
 Straight the sky grew black and daring
 Thro' the woods the wild winds rave,
 Trees, with aged arms, are warring,
 O'er the swelling drumlie wave.

Thereafter, every girl Robert met who pleased his eye he would assail with verse, in an endeavour to win her over. But ladies are not very apt to be won by verse, be it ever so elegant; for to them the person who so adorns them with the roses and lilies of his imagination is only a dreamer, and they look round for more substantial comfort. Waller's lavish praise only served to draw forth smiles from Sacharissa, whilst another beautiful lady saw in Lord Byron only a pale-faced lad, and lame of foot at that, and married a man, who, though lacking in poetical merit could leap a five-barred gate with ease. And yet in spite of all this Robert imagined himself loved, and continued to pour forth the fulness of his soul in beautiful poems. That Robert Burns was enslaved by Nature there is no doubt at all. In his twenty-fourth year he declared, "There is scarcely any earthly object gives me more—I do not know that I should call it pleasure, but something that exalts me, something which enraptures me—than to walk in the sheltered side of a wood or a high plantation, in a cloudy winter day, and hear the stormy wind howling in the trees, and raving o'er the plain. It is my best season for devotion: my

mind is wrapt up in a kind of enthusiasm for Him, who, in the pompous language of a Hebrew bard 'walks on the wings of the wind.' "

Poetry soon became the dominating feature of Burns' life. He wrote poems with the reaping hook in his hand, at the plough, and at the harrow, anywhere, if inspiration suddenly overcame him. "My passions," he said, "when once lighted up, rage like so many devils till they get vent in rhyme and then the conning over my verses, like a spell, soothes all into quiet."

And now we come to one of the saddest incidents in the poet's life, his courtship and marriage to Jean Armour. Too poor to contemplate marriage in the first instance, they courted for about four years, at the end of which Jean Armour bore him a child. This, to one so destitute as Robert was a very unfortunate event, but worse was to follow; the father of Jean Armour upon hearing of his favourite daughter's union with the poet was torn with anguish and as she pleaded on her knees before him for leniency he snatched the marriage lines from her and commanded that she was to think herself no longer the wife of Robert Burns. Swayed by the strength of her father's authority she obeyed, refusing to see or hearken to anything the poet might have to say to her. At first Robert was driven into a blind rage by her action and then when this wore off a little he sought to forget all about her by indulgence in all sorts of dissipation, drunken bouts and the like. But this parting had cast a complete blight on his life, and he set forth his feelings in the following exquisitely mournful lines:—

No idly feigned poetic pains
My sad love-lorn lamentings claim;
No shepherd's pipe; Arcadian strains;
No fabled tortures, quaint and tame;
The plighted faith, the mutual flame,
The oft attested powers above,
The promised father's tender name—
These were the pledges of my love.

With all this sorrow in more or less constant attendance upon the luckless Burns, one wonders how it came that he wrote so many humorous and light verses. But in the majority of his poems we find that little streak of melancholy, of which the following is a fair sample :—

The small birds rejoice in the green leaves returning,
 The murmuring streamlet winds clear thro' the vale;
 The hawthorn tree blows in the dew of the morning,
 The wide scattered cowslips bedeck the green dale;
 But what can give pleasure, or what can seem fair,
 While the lingering moments are numbered by care?
 No flowers gaily springing or birds sweetly singing,
 Can soothe the sad bosom of joyless despair.

The poet was on many occasions very sarcastic and abrupt, he objected strongly to boasting of any description, and whilst he was dining at the table of Maxwell of Terraughty, one of the guests chose to monopolise the conversation and talk of the dukes and earls with whom he had dined or spoken, but Robert Burns eyeing him sternly across the table silenced him with the following :—

“ What of earls with whom you have supt,
 And dukes that you dined with yestreen ;
 Lord ! a louse, sir, is still but a louse,
 Tho' it crawls on the curls of a queen.”

So dainty and lyrical are most of Robert Burns' poems that a large number of them have been set to music, and are now more or less established songs in both England and Scotland ; these include among many the following : Here 'to those thats awa' ; Oh' wert Thou in the Cauld Blast ; Afton Water ; and last but not least—Auld Lang Syne—which is sung the world over.

Later in life the poet's health broke down completely, the crowning event of a life of discomfort. He became reunited

with his Jean, but did not live to enjoy the fruits of her companionship.

That the poet had many follies, I would not deny, but lurid accounts of his misdoings have darkened other and more narratives than this. And since they are probably all the outcome of base rumours it would be but niggardly to repeat them here. Suffice it to say, he was a man with a beautiful soul, and that he possessed the best of intentions. His great passion for the society of women was perhaps his one significant failing. Of women and their fascinations he loved to talk freely and widely. In their presence he would be meek and dove-like, exercising his winning personality to its fullest advantage. But the failure of his many love affairs so distracted him, that he once bitterly exclaimed—

Talk not of love, it gives me pain,
For love has been my foe;
He bound me with an iron chain
And plunged me deep in woe.

Robert Burns was indeed a genius. Those who desire to feel him in his greatest strength must taste him in his Scottish spirit. Although in life Burns was unappreciated even by his own countrymen, to-day every nation of learning pays tribute to his skill, everywhere honours have been liberally paid to his name, and monuments have been erected to perpetuate his memory. Not until a man is removed from our midst do we acknowledge and revere his genius—why, it is hard to say. At Burns' funeral thousands lined the roadway to see the passing of a great man, the Government lifted his wife and family from their poverty, and a whole world has since been awed that so wonderful a man should take his nobler thoughts unspoken to the grave, through lack of support.

THE OLD OAK TREE

A Spirit lives in the old oak tree,
Outside by my window panes—
It sings, and sings, and it sings to me,
In the winds and in the rains :
There's Something that lives in the old oak tree,
That 's akin to God and akin to me !

The wind blows up, and the wind blows down,
And the old tree bends and sways,—
And croons and laughs—but never a frown—
It seems uplifted in praise.
There 's Something that lives in the old oak tree,
That 's akin to God and akin to me !

The sparrows nest safe beneath the leaves,
By the rugged arms upborne—
Thick as the wheat in the golden sheaves,
That lie in the field new mown.
There 's Something that lives in the old oak tree,
That 's akin to the birds, to God, and me !

A tower of strength that lifts on high,
The old tree has stood for years ;
But it must die, just as you and I—
Like it we must have no fears.
For that Something within the dear old tree,
Is akin to God, to you, and to me !

The lightning may dart and strike its heart,
And it may wither and die ;
But nothing is lost, for of God a part,
We can Fate and Death defy.
That Something in us and the old oak tree,
Will live with God through eternity !

TERESA STRICKLAND

IMAGINATION

On a cool summer's evening, two men descended from the open French window and strolled on the well kept, hard gravel terrace, overlooking the sunken lawn. They approached a wooden bench with the Japanese design, placed angularly, at the entrance of the marble loggia. The men sat on the bench, side by side, and talked, puffing at their cigarettes :

"It is so ripping to see you again, Hodges, old fellow!" and Cave smiled, patting his friend affectionately on the shoulder, looking at him with his dreamy blue eyes. In moments of tense excitement the firm mouth would pucker up and Cave would look stern.

"Cave, you are the best-natured of fellows. It is just like you to have me here in your palatial mansion. We meet after a very long time and things are changed—things are changed," said Hodges wistfully.

"They are!" exclaimed his friend very swiftly and in firm tones as if he was quite sure things had changed. "They are, by Jove! When you had last seen me three years ago—well, well! I had hardly a penny to bless my soul with and now! Lord! I am rich!"

That was so, Gerald Cave was no aristocrat, born with a silver spoon in his mouth. He had known poverty; he had experienced hard times. But an old maiden aunt had turned his fortunes by leaving him all she died possessed of, including the Reigate House, the most wonderful mansion in the village.

"You are a lucky beggar!" said Hodges, gazing at the red-bricked house. "But I don't know where you would have been if it had not been for your aunt."

The two men inhaled the rich, deep scent of the flowers that surrounded them and the pure, thin air of the evening.

Then, suddenly Hodges turned his hazel brown eyes, the colour of his hair, towards his friend and asked almost abruptly :

“ I say, Cave, is your house haunted? ”

“ Gracious! What puts that in your head of a sudden? I suppose you are still interested in ghosts? ”

“ Exactly!—I am interested in ghosts more than ever! But I have not yet seen one! ”

“ Do you honestly wish to see a ghost? ” asked Cave earnestly.

“ I do!—But why? ”

“ Because two miles away from here, in a very deserted spot, there is a tumbledown house supposed to be haunted by an evil spirit which harms every one who sees it. ”

“ Is that the truth, ” incredulously asked Hodges.

“ Indeed I am not pulling your leg! ”

“ Then you excite my curiosity, so continue with the story. ”

“ Well, it is supposed that this house is haunted by the evil spirit of a horrible old woman, who is said to have murdered her young and gentle step-daughter in this house, some hundred years ago. Both the ghosts of the mother and the daughter haunt the house and they terrify superstitious people to such an extent that by dark they never dare to pass the house of the phantoms. ”

“ This is very exciting! Cave, do you know the exact situation of the house? ”

“ I do!—Why? ”

“ Because I wish to visit it at night and lie in waiting for the phantoms. ”

“ You must not do so! ” put in his friend.

“ I must! and I will! so it's no good your arguing! ”

“ Then do it by all means! I bet a hundred pounds you will be terrified. ”

“ Agreed! I take the wager that I am not frightened by ghosts. ”

“When do you go there—to-morrow?”

“Yes!”

“Then, to-morrow after dinner, I will take you there in my car and leave you in the haunted house. Hodges, old fellow, I do not envy you as I should not like to be there!” and Cave’s eyes expressed horror.

Ernest Hodges, followed by his friend Gerald Cave, entered the little, square room of the tumbledown house, supposed to be haunted. He looked round carefully and by the light of the candles took in every detail. The room and the four walls were almost devoid of any ornament or furniture. It was a dilapidated room with old broken chairs and a square table. Beside the shattered doors was a window, its shutters broken. The odour of this room was foul; it was heavy. Creepy feelings passed through the back of Cave and he shivered slightly.

“Here we are!” said he, looking round the room, “What a terrible place to be in! My dear Hodges, you had better be reasonable and return with me.”

“Certainly not!—not for the world, when I have always longed to visit a haunted house! No, Cave, I do not return to Reigate House until I see the ghosts and satisfy myself.”

“Then good-bye and good luck.”

The lighted candles were placed on a chair in a corner of the room, carefully secluded from any draught.

“You know by our previous arrangement I can keep the candles.”

“Yes, of course.”

“And the revolver too.”

“Certainly.”

Cave had left. Hodges was all alone in the room. He looked around the room involuntarily and shivered. But at the next moment he reproached himself for the weakness and said to himself: “I must be brave and win the hundred pounds and see those ghosts.”

towards the phantoms. The bullet passed out in the open. The phantoms approached him, steadily, steadily. Desperate, impulsive and wild, hardly knowing what he was doing, Hodges pressed the pistol against his temple, pulled the trigger and fell down dead on the floor.

ADI K. SETT

BITTER-SWEET

Those whom we love most hurt us oftenest ;
Such is the price of all life's ecstasies.
Each joy is muted by the pain that love
Inflicts, else were there no need for Heaven
Or human hopes of perfect things beyond
The incompleteness of our life on earth.
Love's gifts are bitter-sweet, as minor chords
Enhance the beauty of a song, or sound
Deep echoes in the soul, where melodies
Sung solely in the major mode cannot
Enthrall or satisfy the wistful heart.
So love on, and if you be wise, take pain
With its related joys as one who builds
A song of light and shade. Perchance one day
When young love mellows with the growing years,
And understanding comes, we'll turn the pain
To joy and banish tears and questioning.

LILY S. ANDERSON

THE TUBERCULOSIS PROBLEM—HOW IT CAN BE SOLVED¹

Emperor Frederick the Great when asked to give a harangue to his soldiers for encouraging them on the eve of a great battle, finished his peroration in three short sentences. "Here am I your Field Marshal, there is your enemy in your front, you are my soldiers, arrayed in front of me; fight." In the present case the Head of the Corporation of Calcutta would have rested after giving similar orders to their field force, namely, the Health Officer and his staff to fight with infective diseases, if by doing so the diseases could be removed. Germs of infectious diseases like tuberculosis or cholera are not visible, and so do not offer a target for your weapons. The fight is unequal, the advantage being all on the side of the enemy due to their invisibleness and mysterious way of living. Hence the field force of the Calcutta Corporation, Health Department, has thought it fit that all the inhabitants of this town should co-operate with them in their fight—otherwise it is a hopeless struggle. To give this help properly, the inhabitants must have a knowledge of the extent of the danger they are incurring by allowing the prevalence of epidemic diseases among them. Besides, they must know the germ, where it thrives and how it can be successfully fought. To get this knowledge, this meeting of the inhabitants of Calcutta has been organised and for this the aid of the august Head of the Public Health Department of Bengal has been sought for. Now, it will interest you to note that the enemy with which we are concerned now, namely, the germ of tuberculosis, is a micro-organism not more than $1/30000$ th of an inch in length and $1/300000$ th of an inch in breadth. Though it is so

¹. A lecture delivered at a Health Exhibition in Calcutta.

extraordinarily minute in size (so much so that it can be seen only by a high-power microscope), yet the effect which it produces is not at all negligible. It is tangible enough, as is evidenced by the havoc it is creating. Its *modus operandi* is that it gets into the human system and destroys the organs of the affected man in a few months, and it does not rest after killing him. Its work of destruction is extended to the nearest relative of the sufferer and if its depredations be not checked, even the whole family may be ruined by this tiny germ, for such a calamity is happening before our eyes almost every day. On account of this devastating action, scientists throughout the world have made it a point to study this minute germ as thoroughly as possible and have found out the following facts which are worth remembering by all members of the community, if they want to ward off the attack of this insidious enemy of mankind which accounts for human mortality in the ratio of one individual out of every 7 killed by all the messengers of death throughout the world. Though accurate information is wanting about the death-rate from tuberculosis, yet from my personal knowledge I can say that it levies a very high toll in this country. The tuberculosis germ, strange to say, is a plant, that is, it is of vegetable origin. It can be grown in artificial culture medium in test tubes, and from it lower animals can be infected by tuberculosis. It attacks lower animals such as cows and birds, etc. One of its peculiarities is that it is killed by direct exposure to the sun's rays. Even diffuse rays of the sun have got a destructive action. Dryness destroys it. Moisture helps it to thrive. So, in dark moist rooms germs have been found to remain alive to the length of full one year. In particles of dust, if not exposed to the sun, it can live a pretty long time as the moisture it requires to keep it alive is present in dust in sufficient quantity. It has not got wings nor has it got a special insect carrier, such as the *anopheles* mosquito for malaria parasites. So it cannot fly from house to house. The great source of origin of the germ is a consumptive

patient, as these suffering patients can go about and carry on their ordinary avocations of life for a pretty long time—2, 3, 4 and even sometimes 25 years. They communicate the disease to those with whom they come in contact especially when the resisting power of the latter is lowered by dust-laden, unwholesome air, malnutrition, child-bearing, etc. Now, as the persons who are disseminators of the germ cannot be easily found out and, even if found, cannot be prevented from mixing with the healthy people, it has become a problem indeed for the public-health men to devise a means to find them out and make them harmless.

Measures by which these can be done are based on the following facts :—

1. Congestion and over-crowding in towns where people live in dusty atmosphere and amidst numerous chances of infection due to presence of tuberculosis cases, majority of inhabitants having the germ in their system. Nearly 90 per cent. of the total population of the town carry tubercle bacilli in their system.

2. Bad method of living, exhaustion, anxiety, intemperance, too much child-bearing, etc., bring on the active phase of the disease germ already inhabiting the system, multiplying and killing the organism invaded.

3. Good way of living, inhalation of plenty of pure air, equable life free from worry, which are preventives against infection as also developement of germs in the system.

4. Even if the disease goes into the active infective phase through faulty method of living it can be made quiescent and non-infective by a change of life (by good way of living coupled with special methods of treatment).

For this reason, an outline of a scheme adopted from those used in European countries is given below :—

- (1) The first step necessary to cope with the disease is adoption of means of finding out the living cases of tuberculosis.

(2) Ascertaining the number of deaths from tuberculosis. The latter is the comparatively easier problem. As none of the cases, excepting those already in the hospitals and those attending the public hospitals as outdoor patients, will come within the purview of the Health Officer, the fight against tuberculosis cannot have any chance of success, unless we devise some means of finding out the living cases—cases which are originating disease in others. Compulsory notification by medical men will never succeed as nowhere the required information could be obtained in this way.

(3) Provision for taking care of bad cases of tuberculosis among the poor by means of a sufficient number of beds for them. In U. S. A. every local body has to provide for a number of beds equal to the number of men dying annually from tuberculosis.

By this provision, the bad cases of tuberculosis which are sure to infect immediate attendants of the patients (son, daughter, wife or husband), owing to their ignorance, are taken care of in a hospital, where trained nurses nurse the patient. Here infection does not occur as a rule.

(4) Opening of tuberculosis dispensaries in all insanitary tuberculosis-infected areas.

These dispensaries are an essential feature of any anti-tuberculosis campaign. They are not like ordinary medicine-giving charitable dispensaries treating all diseases. The principle underlying the dispensary is that its real aim is not treatment—though treatment is carried on to attract suffering men—but creation of an information bureau for getting information of living tuberculosis cases from amongst the poor and at the same time giving information regarding the nature of the help which the tuberculosis patient can get from the authorities. Here the cases are examined thoroughly, the sputum being examined free of charge.

(5) *Tuberculosis colony*.—In England, a system has been devised called the Papworth Colony system in which the tuber-

culosis cases in the ambulatory-cases stage are given facility for settling in the colony, where work suitable to their conditions is provided amongst healthy surroundings. Under such conditions diseases do not advance and from the infective, dangerous stage the patient becomes non-infective and may after a time shake off the disease altogether.

(6) *Sanitarium*.—Situated in salubrious climate where patients who can pay for treatment are treated by specialists. This has got a limited application, as a short stay in sanitarium never can free them from the complaint, yet it is not without its value. Besides, all our efforts will fail to help them in the proper way, if we leave out the elementary precaution, namely, that we must not lump together all tuberculosis cases in one group and give them relief irrespective of their condition. For tuberculosis, unlike other infective diseases, the general condition of the suffering patients differs remarkably in different stages of the disease; from the symptomless, apparently healthy, men carrying on their avocation without least trouble to patients panting for breath at the slightest exertion. The difference is so well marked that all the patients cannot be classed together in dealing with them. So, they must be classified into (a) ambulatory non-infective cases, (b) ambulatory cases in the infective stage, (c) infective cases temporarily bed-ridden, for whom there is complete chance of recovery by treatment, and (d) hopeless cases.

Now, in this country where the sun's rays and pure air are easily available, patients settling even in non-salubrious villages of Bengal, the application of anti-tuberculosis measures is easy. If a public body like the Calcutta Corporation takes out the lease of a plot of land near Diamond Harbour or Shampur (Howrah), and hands it over to a registered body its next duty will be to find out a proper party who are to give relief (I call it an Anti-tuberculosis Society) composed of leading practitioners and leading laymen. And if a hospital having about 50 beds be opened for admission of tuberculosis cases, then there will be a good

chance of making the anti-tuberculosis campaign effective. I have not purposely touched on the general improvement of sanitation, of street watering, prevention of smoke nuisance, better way of living, as preventive measures against tuberculosis. For it goes without saying that every municipality must carry on these elementary sanitary improvements irrespective of whether there is increased tuberculosis or not in the locality. But if special precaution against infection be not taken, all efforts in the way of general sanitary improvement will be of no avail. I need not get into the controversial question whether good food, pure water, or inhalation of pure air will suffice for prevention of tuberculosis and whether special precautions are not necessary. I have seen men in enjoyment of perfect health and in affluent circumstances and engaged in outdoor work in villages catching tuberculosis and dying of it because of infection. Even Lord Irwin has not been spared the visitation by such an uncouth rustic infection as malaria parasite. Lastly, in applying these measures I cannot help referring to one essential thing which will make the anti-tuberculosis scheme successful. It is this that besides accurate knowledge of ways of tubercle bacilli as found by scientific men, those who are responsible for its application must possess superabundance of sympathy for the sufferers. The change in the view-point of the public at large in England, regarding consumptives, brought about by such eminent men as Dr. Newsholme, late Medical Officer of Local Self-Government Board of England, and eminent physicians like Dr. Clifford Albut, has been the means of diminishing remarkably the total morbidity and mortality from tuberculosis in England. The picture of old days, of men reduced to skeleton, with mufflers around their neck and an inhaler in their mouth and spittoon at their side, coughing incessantly, shunned by everybody like lepers, frequenting the public places of England, has been reduced to a rarity now-a-days.

Thanks to the noble efforts of the above-named gentlemen, their slogan in dealing with these diseases, in contrast to what

a man in the street says that every consumptive must die of it, is that "Hope first, hope second, hope last. This translated into action means that every tuberculosis case in whatever stage it may be found can be brought to the quiescent stage. So it is necessary to keep up a robust optimism in dealing with them, for there is justification for doing it, as we see almost every day in our life in this country, men even in cavity stage of the disease showing signs of arrest of it and carrying on the ordinary avocations of life without the least trouble. Here in this country, this change in the view-point of the disease is very much wanted. The word consumptive is an anathema and conjures up a vision of phthisis germs flying out from every part of the patient's body and infecting his neighbours. So, the opening of a new hospital or home for consumptives or a colony for consumptives is unfortunately made the starting point of a violent agitation against it by the public, the result being the patient instead of remaining in well cared-for institutions where chance of infection is reduced to *nil*, becomes, as a matter of course, the inmate of the house of those very persons who oppose these institutions. Thus the disease occurs amongst the patients' own relatives, where the mode of infection not being known or cared for, infection in others is sure to follow. It has been found out by actual experience that infection from hospitals is the rarest thing in the world, whereas infection even in best-regulated houses is almost the rule.

By this, I do not mean to imply that our countrymen are wanting in the domestic social virtue of properly attending and taking charge of their relatives suffering from tuberculosis. On the contrary it is due to I should say inordinate development of this virtue, by which wife nurses her phthisical husband, the husband attends on his tuberculous wife, sons their consumptive mothers, sisters their dying brothers, regardless of consequences. To this is to be partly attributed the terrible death rate from tuberculosis in this country. We do not want to do away with this virtue, of which we take justifiable pride which prevents our

nearest relatives being treated by paid nurses. I wish only one change to take place, *viz.*, in our present arrangement, intelligent nursing based on accurate knowledge of infection and management of tuberculosis cases on the lines indicated above, should be adopted. We want more of the Florence Nightingale type of nurses and better outlook on the part of the public at large on the tuberculosis question. If this be not done the Bengalee race, placed between two cross fires (if they go to the villages they die of malaria, if they go to the crowded towns they die of tuberculosis) will be wiped off in no time.

The Scheme.—There should be two independent organisations having their own funds and their committees acting in co-operation with each other to solve the problem of tuberculosis :

1. The Antituberculosis Society composed mostly of medical men whose duty will be propaganda, advising the local bodies and being responsible for proper selection of cases to be sent to different institutions and inspection of the tuberculosis colony.

2. Co-operative, Industrial and Agricultural Village Settlement Bank. It will be registered under the Co-operative Registration Act. It will issue shares to the extent of 5 lacs or so. At least 100,000 rupees worth of shares to be bought by the Calcutta Corporation. These may be bought at an instalment of Rs. 1,000 a month. Philanthropic gentlemen can be easily induced to buy its shares. The Industrial Bank will take lease of land in Diamond Harbour or Shampur or nearabouts of 5,000 bighas. Those who want to settle on the land must apply to the Antituberculosis Society who will certify that the applicant is a proper subject for settling in the Colony (*i.e.*, an early non-infective tuberculosis case). The applicant will buy shares (minimum being Rs. 100) of the Bank. The Bank will advance 10 times the value of his shares for helping him to settle on the land. He will occupy himself in some agricultural or industrial work. The Bank may act as a co-operative marketing association for selling at an advantageous rate the produce of the labour of the settlers. The Antituberculosis Society will arrange for

visiting the invalid settlement and the colony. The Corporation will provide for 200 beds for acute bed-ridden cases of tuberculosis, somewhere in Calcutta or in the suburbs which are not malarious.

GOPALCHANDRA CHATTERJEE

ULTIMATUM

The beetle buzzes blithely round the wind-blown flower,
Rooms by, returns and hovers there for many an hour,
At last to settle gladly, gain sweet nectar's dower !

I'll try and let me fail ; I'll fight tho' but to lose ;
I'll set sail tho' the darkness beacon-light refuse :
The spider's pattern of bold industry I choose !

I'll fail, not faint nor fear ; but hungrily I'll try,
Till thou dost drop a melting tear, with pitying sigh
Declarest me the victor, and thyself ally !

Till full inebriate with love's fond effort brave,
Intrepid daring, warrior courage, thou dost stave
Away the blows of fortune, rescue, claim and save !

And take me, old before my years, infirm and bent,
Into thy universal bosom to lament
My stricken, broken state !—My Lord ! thou wilt relent !

CYRIL MODAK

THE BREATH OF THE MYRTLE

How sweet is the breath of the Myrtle,
That exhales from clusters of bloom,
And sheds o'er the quaint, old-time garden,
Its mystical, subtle perfume.
Ah, Love, it seems that our lives are twined
With roses, myrtle, and rue—
And I think of another garden,
In the ages now lost to view !
The doves cooed and soared in that garden,
And in rhythmical circles flew,
Above the pink-crested myrtles,
And winged to the endless blue,—
Till like Corona they shone above,
As a crown of glittering stars—
While Phoebus rode over in splendour,
And cast down his golden spars !
Reclining within the Rose-arbor,
Beside me then, just as now,
You were weaving for me your poems,
As roses I twined for your brow.
There, the green of the lawn sloped downward,
To bathe in the Aegean Sea ;
There were shrines to gods in that garden,—
And you, and our love, and me.....
The dream of a dream, or a vision—
I know, my Belovéd, 'twas true ;
Whene'er the life, or whene'er the time,
It was you I loved, only you !

TERESA STRICKLAND

THE METAPHYSICAL BASIS OF MONADISM

The metaphysical treatment of the problem of life leads us back to the ultimate differences of view indicated by the terms 'monism' and 'pluralism' or, in other words, in discussing the doctrine of monadism or pan-psychism from the philosophical point of view one is led inevitably to ask whether monadism is compatible with a monistic theory of the universe or whether it constrains us to be content with a form of pluralism. A monistic theory of nature has mainly assumed the form either of a materialistic or spiritualistic rendering of the facts. Materialism has usually claimed to rest on the empirical basis of physical science. "The physics of a generation earlier than our own," says Prof. J. Johnstone, "thought that it had discovered Reality in its conception of a Universe consisting of atoms and molecules in ceaseless motion," and these atoms and molecules were taken to be infinitely small particles, 'inert' and 'dead' in character. But all along materialism has proved itself incompetent to deal with the phenomena of life and mind. Moreover, materialism would appear now to be in conflict even with the facts of physical science itself as scientists have come to regard them.

It behoves us, then, to confine attention to spiritualism or idealism. "The word 'Idealism,' " says Russell, "is used by different philosophers in somewhat different senses. We shall understand by it the doctrine that whatever exists, or at any rate, whatever can be known to exist, must be in some sense mental" (*The Problems of Philosophy*, p. 58). This statement must, however, be pronounced vague. We need to know in what sense whatever is is declared to be mental. Now, historically, idealism has been presented in two forms—subjective idealism as it was elaborated by Berkeley, and objective idealism, the grounds of which were laid in the Critical Philosophy of Kant. Though

these two forms of idealism differ widely, yet the underlying principle of both seems to be fundamentally the same, namely, that "whatever exists or at any rate, whatever can be known to exist, must be in some sense mental." This idealistic conception of the world as mental, as developed and elaborated, for example, by Berkeley, falls into what has been named a 'malignant subjectivism,' for on this view, the world conceived as through and through mental comes to consist in a succession of mental contents and processes; and thus may be said to explain away the world of external things. On the other hand, objective idealism, as its name indicates, is not the explaining away, but an 'attempted explanation of, or an attempt to 'save,' the world of external things in terms of mind. The main principle of objective idealism, chiefly associated with the name of Hegel, may be put in one sentence, namely, that the world of objects of the 'Many' is the differentiation of an ultimate 'One' or 'Absolute.' Or, in Hegelian phraseology, the 'One' or 'Absolute' realises itself in and through the 'Many' or the differentiated world so that the objects in which the Absolute is differentiated are not only related to the Absolute, but are, in a sense, the Absolute. Dr. McTaggart thinks that according to Hegel the Absolute is a unity of persons. Thus interpreted objective idealism would seem to be a further development of Leibnizian monadism. It will not do, therefore, to rest content with the position, even though confirmed by science, that 'objects' and even parts of objects are 'living,' but I would go further and maintain that life is merely phenomenal manifestation of an internal or spiritual principle, and that all ultimate realities are in truth monads or souls. This, I shall contend, is the logical terminus of the doctrine of objective idealism. But certain objections have been brought against an idealism that thus culminate in monadism by Dr. Bosanquet and Prof. Pringle-Pattison, the two chief exponents of the idealistic creed in the present time. Perhaps Prof. Taylor is right in saying that most idealists are "too often apt to resent the very existence

of an 'inorganic' world as a stone of stumbling maliciously flung down in the way of their faith," for they are inclined to argue that the conception of the so-called 'objects' as possessing souls is subversive of their existence as 'objects.' They are content to say of so-called 'objects' that they have no being independent of the Absolute and that they *somehow* fall within the being of the Absolute. Let us here consider somewhat more in detail the views of Dr. Bosanquet and Prof. Pringle-Pattison on this point.

According to Dr. Bosanquet the world of objects, or the world of nature, though independent of our momentary attitude and self-subsistent, yet, possesses qualities which prove it to be in relation with a sentient, cognitive, and volitional subject. Though nature thus considered has, according to him, an intimate connexion with mind or spirit, this 'connexion' must be thought of as being of a *non-committal* kind. Whilst admitting that nature is in some sense plastic and responsive to finite subjective mind, and in this respect may be set down as in some sense 'expressive' of mind, or the 'embodiment' or a 'crystallisation' or 'hieroglyph of mind,' Dr. Bosanquet holds that this familiar and obvious conception has hidden within it two antagonistic lines of thought.....the one starting from the idea of *kinship* between mind and nature, the other from the idea of their *complementariness*, and so *prima facie* in a kind of opposition. The former idea of kinship between mind and nature ends no doubt, "in the conception of the universe as a society of spirits, in which the constituent parts of nature are members, in grades and divisions unknown to us, but intelligible by analogy. The external world would thus be the body, and its behaviour the language and conduct of actual spiritual beings, not ourselves. And whether we preferred the phraseology of will or of meaning, there would be literal truth in saying that nature possesses a purpose and a significance, akin to our own, communicable to us according to our measure of sympathy and insight, while barred against us in the main by

difference perhaps of modes of utterance, perhaps of the span of consciousness. We should, in short, have accepted the general attitude of pan-psychism." (*Principle of Individuality and Value*, p. 362.) But he is afraid that this conception would do away with all "externality," i.e., "all outward appearance becomes resolvable *ad infinitum* into spirits." "If pan-psychism is necessary, the resolution into spirit must be universal." (*Ibid*, p. 363.) Now, Dr. Bosanquet argues that this conception shows a mere poverty of philosophical imagination. It destroys the complementary and inseparable character of mind and nature by reducing the one to the other. He does not find any necessity for reducing the contributions of all elements to the whole to a homogeneous type. On the contrary, he thinks, it leads to some absurd or awkward positions such as this that the 'material incidents of life,' e.g., food, clothes, country, one's own body, the relation to which is essential for the existence of a finite being, being reduced to subjective psychical centres, would lose their function and character for us in so far as their subjective psychical quality is realised.

On the other hand, starting from the second of the two conceptions, namely, that mind and nature are complementary, we arrive, Dr. Bosanquet maintains, at some such view as this : "External nature is not a masked and enfeebled section of the subject-world, but is that from which all finite subjects draw their determinate being and content, as the active form of totality is revealed in partial centres, according to some unknown law by which nature, under certain conditions only, becomes the vehicle of life and of subjective mind." (*Ibid*, p. 369.) We cannot in any way ascribe independent being to nature. We want it as the supplier of content to our minds and it would be idle and superfluous to ascribe to it a mind of its own. Our minds are its own mind, but by this it should not be thought that we deprive it of a being of its own, or that it is merely auxiliary to the ends of humanity. It is not that we bring ends with us which nature is bound to subserve, it is that nature

teaches us what are the ends of the universe, or to express it in Keat's words, nature is the vale of our soul-making. Thus Dr. Bosanquet concludes that mind and nature are interdependent or complementary. Nature, he says, may be said to exist through finite minds, and finite minds again may be said to exist through nature. Finite minds, in other words, express and interpret in some degree the significance of the external conditions of nature.. But the question why it is so is an ultimate question and remains as inscrutable as the question why the universe is what it is. The instincts, the feelings of joy, etc., of the lower creation are, in his view, the outcome of some 'external conditions as focussed in life and mind,' and pass into the complete experience, which is the life of the whole, as their crown and climax.

Following in this respect the thought of Dr. Bosanquet, Prof. Pringle-Pattison also criticises pan-psychism. The central point of his contention is that man or mind and nature are *organic* to each other. His view is that internality is meaningless without externality, and a subject or a self would merely be an empty form had there not been a world to draw on for its content and feeling. The uniformity of nature is the necessary condition of the life of intelligence and reasonable action. The conditions of individuation and the means of communication between individuals seem to be furnished by the system of nature. But monadism would, he holds, simply resolve the organic vesture of the spirit and its environmental conditions into innumerable 'quasi-spiritual centres,' and the objective world would thus become simply 'the appearance' of these souls or monads to one another.' This monadism, or, as he terms it, philosophical animism, is, in his view, 'too primitively simple an expedient,' and it cannot be reconciled with our common-sense view of nature. For, with Dr. Bosanquet, he considers that it is as things or externalities that things exist as such, and not as selves, in which latter case they would lose their characteristic being. Prof. Pringle-Pattison is of opinion that by resolving nature into what he calls an aggregate of tiny minds

monadism only introduces confusion. For the purpose of idealism it would be sufficient if nature as a whole be recognised as *complementary* to mind, and as not possessing an absolute existence of its own 'apart from its spiritual completion.' Mind again is 'intellectually and ethically void' unless there be a world to furnish it with the materials of knowledge and of duty. Both are necessary elements of a single system.

An objective idealism of this type affords, then, little countenance to the doctrine of monadism or pan-psychism; nay, it may be said, the existence of an 'inorganic' world is on this view a necessity. Objects to exist as such must not be independent of the Absolute; they must *somehow* be taken into the life of the Absolute. While, however, these writers are content to say that the mode of living of objects is inscrutable, I think they leave the real problem unsolved. The main difficulty in the line of thought we have been following, seems to me to consist in the ascription of one kind of existence to one half of nature and another kind of existence to the other half of nature. I think Prof. Taylor is right in arguing that "the kind of existence which is predicated of one part of the system must, by a logical necessity, be ascribed equally to the remainder." The pluralism, in its spiritualistic form, of the present day, may be said to have been worked out in the light of this consideration. It starts with the conception of a world of monads or souls as conative in character. I take Profs. Ward and Taylor as the chief exponents of this sort of pluralism.

The time-honoured distinction of the world of mechanism and the world of morals, or, in Kant's words, the realm of Nature and the realm of ends, has, Dr. Ward thinks, perhaps presented the greatest crux to philosophers, for when they are called upon to explain the relation of this mechanism to mind they become involved in hopeless inconsistencies. "Having," he says, "satisfied ourselves that mechanism is not the secret of the universe; that, if it is to have any meaning it must subserve some end, and finding generally that increased knowledge

of Nature's laws means increased control of Nature's processes, we accept the facts of experience in which subject and object interact, rather than the conclusions of dualism, that mind and matter are for us two alien worlds and all knowledge of Nature an inexplicable mystery—we accept the spiritualistic standpoint and its Realm of Ends as the more fundamental." (*The Realm of Ends*, p. 13.) Dr. Ward here anticipates an objection. "It will be objected," he writes, "beyond humanity and history, beyond, if you will, the whole realm of sentient life, Nature is there all the while, and there as no mere background but as the basis of the whole, the fundamental plasma which can only be shaped because it is itself determinate and orderly." In answer to this Prof. Ward contends that even granting this he finds nothing in nature to conflict with a spiritualistic interpretation when nature is envisaged as a whole. In what is called the historical world, determinate agents are, he thinks, placed first in the order of existence and what is called the order and development which we observe are to be traced back to their action and interaction. So also is the case of nature. Our power over nature is insignificant, for we have neither made it nor have we in any significant extent shaped it, "we are not even settlers from a foreign clime but aborigines seemingly sprung from the soil." (*Ibid*, p. 20.)

Over and above these considerations, Dr. Ward argues that the principle of continuity, which was propounded by Leibniz, namely, that 'Nature never makes leaps,' further strengthens the position of pan-psychism, and pan-psychism appeals to this principle as its chief, though not the only, ground. Further research in the domain of science, Dr. Ward holds, lends countenance to this view when it extends the range of life far into the region of what was once regarded as inanimate and when it shows that the lowest known organisms are highly complex and extremely varied. But this, he thinks, is by no means the ultimate limit reached, for, our senses and the artificial aids and methods of research at present available are not

capable of discriminating between yet simpler forms of life and *their* environment, and hence we cannot say such simple forms do not exist. Dr. Ward rather thinks it preferable to conclude with Spinoza that 'all individual things are animated, albeit in diverse degrees.' Apart from the principle of continuity, Dr. Ward further finds sufficient justification for such a view in the reflexion that "what can neither do nor suffer, what is nothing for itself, is truly nothing at all; for—again as Spinoza maintained—every individual thing, so far as in it lies, endeavours to persist in its own being. On this, the pan-psychist view, Nature thus resolves into a plurality of conative individuals, and the range and complexity of the correspondence between a given individual and its environment marks the stage to which it has advanced in its interaction with the rest." (*Ibid*, p. 21.) The important question here forced upon is, Dr. Ward argues, whether the plurality of interacting subjects accounts for itself and for the unity which such interaction implies. From the point of view of pluralism of a radical sort the step from a world of spirits to a Supreme Spirit is, he considers, only a *possible* one. From a pluralistic standpoint though a unity of some sort is obviously implied in talking of a world at all, yet the unity of the world may be likened to that of a society which presupposes the association of the individuals, and is not an Absolute of which the individuals are somehow appearances. Even if there be a highest then the highest will be only a *primus inter pares*, one among the many, and not "an Absolute really including them all." According to Dr. Ward it is with the parts—the many—that the pluralist starts and the question as to whether there is an Absolute as the logical and real ground of the parts, is not for the pluralist the first question, but the last. It may perhaps be said that the Supreme Being of the pluralists is the 'finite God,' of which James speaks, and though many may disown it as a manifest contradiction in terms, yet it is the 'upper limit' of pluralism beyond which it does not seem possible for the pluralist to go.

Though Dr. Ward thinks that it is rather with the plurality than with the unity that we, as men, are first of all practically concerned—for we are one of the ‘many’ and with them we interact—and that the conception of an ultimate unity arises only at a late period of our mental development and that after a great deal of reflexion, yet he contends that the pluralistic standpoint is not a fundamental one. The unity which pluralism reaches may be said to be a ‘unity of the system’ and not a ‘living unity and is, therefore, not a unity in a real and ultimate sense. For this reason we must ultimately have recourse to monism or theism which, on Dr. Ward’s view, promises to complete pluralism and does not threaten to abolish it. Dr. Ward thinks that theism provides ‘theoretically more unity in the ground of the world, and practically a higher and fuller unity in its means and end.’ What theism involves is that the unity is the ground of the plurality, and this unity is none other than God, and God, considered from the point of view of man, is, Dr. Ward urges, Spirit as possessing intelligence and will and so personal. The world of plurality can be considered only as the creation of God. A plurality of finite selves in the interaction of which the world is constituted would possess in itself no guarantee, and we could not even reasonably expect that such a totality would ever attain to perfect organic unity. It is not that the theism to which pluralism points leaves no place for God in the world. What we are to mean by ‘creation’ in this connexion is, Dr. Ward maintains, only a ‘continuous presence.’ So that “if God is the ground of the world at all, He is its ground always as an active, living, interested spirit, not merely as an everlasting, changeless and indifferent centre, round which it simply whirls.” (*Ibid*, p. 447.) But this should not blind us to the other aspect, namely, the real nature of the world of monads. To distinguish his position from the “Singularists” or the “Absolutists” Dr. Ward maintains that “from the standpoint of the many, we have no ground for assuming a Creator who does everything but only a Creator whose creatures create in turn.” (*Ibid*, p. 352.)

Or, in other words, the monads which constitute the universe are real agents at work.

From these general considerations let us turn to the explanation Dr. Ward has to give of the relation between body and mind. Following the lead of Leibniz Dr. Ward maintains that the relation of soul to body is that of soul to other souls, the organisation and presentation of which simply constitute what we call body. The dominant monad is *the* soul which constitutes the individuality, and the other souls are its attendant group of subordinate monads. But in thus conceiving the relation between body and mind can we dispose of the objection which Bosanquet and others have raised against monadism, namely, that if 'things' or 'inorganic' objects were in truth souls, that would subvert their function as 'things' or 'objects'? In other words, we have to inquire whether the resolution of the real world into a multiplicity of monads in any way precludes the conceptions of 'object' and 'objective relation' as contrasted with 'subject' and 'subjective relation.' Here, Dr. Ward thinks, it is important to distinguish (1) the relation in which the dominant monad or the individual stands to its attendant group of subordinate monads, and (2) the relation in which the dominant monad and the subordinate monads as constituting a single whole stand to all else besides. As regards the (1) we have, he urges, to contend that what has been called the 'intimacy of the *rapport*' between the dominant monad and its attendant group of subordinate monads is more complete, and in this sense the latter group is 'diaphanous for its own subject'; the relation may be called a subjective or intrasubjective relation. But as regards (2) the single whole may be said to be 'opaque' to all subjects besides, and thus constitute an object for the other subjects. In this sense, every object is also a subject and *vice versa*. What is an object from my point of view is a subject from its own point of view.

Prof. Taylor may be said to have reached a result similar to that of Prof. Ward. Taking his stand on what he calls

'systematic idealism,' Prof. Taylor discards the subjective idealism of Berkeley and contends that if there is any seriousness in holding that the *esse* of the psychical order, *e.g.*, ourselves and our fellows, is not mere *percipi*, then we must hold that it is *percipere* or *sentire*. The physical nature which we perceive is, Prof. Taylor maintains, a community or a complex of communities of sentient experiencing beings. The reality that is behind the appearance must, he contends, be of the same general type as that which we, for identical reasons, assert to be behind the appearances we call the bodies of our fellows. The physical order, he holds, must be the appearance of a more ultimate reality that is non-physical in character, inasmuch as it is dependent for its perceived qualities on the sense-organs of the percipient. The physical order has, he thinks, an existence, as centre of feeling, over and above its existence as presentation to our senses. A body is the presentation to our sense of a system or complex of systems of experiencing subjects. The reason why nature appears lifeless and purposeless to us is, he suggests, analogous to the reason why the speech of a foreigner seems senseless jargon to a rustic who knows no language but his own. What is called a 'thing' or 'subject' is, in truth, he maintains, an entity of *teleological* structure and things or objects in nature differ only in degree and not in kind. A thing or object cannot be a mere collection of qualities without an internal unity, and this internal unity is, in his view, that of an individual experience. But by thus resolving the world into a manifold of 'subjective centres of experience' it should not be thought that the world of Reality is a mere *whole of parts*. On the contrary, he maintains, it is their *living unity* or a system, and to be a system it must be the development or expression in detail of a single principle which may be said to be the informing principle of the individual parts, for these must be the expression of a single principle in and through a multiplicity of terms or constituents. In Prof. Taylor's view "Reality is a systematic experience of which the components are likewise experiences," or

“it is a subject which is the unity of subordinate subjects,” or “it is an individual of which the elements are lesser individuals.” “A thing,” Prof. Taylor asserts, “is individual just so far as it is unique, and only that which is the embodiment of a single purpose or interest can be unique. A single whole of experience owing its unity as a whole precisely to the completeness and harmony with which it expresses a single purpose or interest, is necessarily an individual. The all-embracing experience which constitutes Reality is thus in its inmost nature a complete individual. And the lesser experiences which form the elements or material content of Reality are each, just so far as each is truly one experience, individual in the same sense as the whole. We may thus call Reality a complete or perfect individual of minor or incomplete individuals.” (*Elements of Metaphysics*, pp. 98-99.)

We are now in a position to see how monadism or panpsychism stands related to idealism, or rather, to objective idealism as distinguished from the subjective idealism of Berkeley. The remark of Russell already quoted that ‘whatever exists or whatever can be known to exist, is in some sense mental,’ may, perhaps, be taken to express in one sentence the cardinal principle of idealism in its various forms. But the real crux lies in determining exactly in what sense idealism tries to interpret objects and everything in nature in terms of mind. As we have seen, the idealists such as Dr. Bosanquet and Prof. Pringle-Pattison, contend that the so-called ‘things’ in nature are not ‘spirits,’ but only that they are *organic* to spirit, and that in their ultimate nature the so-called ‘things’ are *somehow* included in the being of the Absolute. So in order to avoid dualism, they would urge that so-called ‘inorganic’ objects or ‘things’ are never independent of the Absolute Spirit, but are in some sense mental, in the sense, namely, that they fall within the being of Spirit. But here they may be said to fall unconsciously into a sort of dualism, for ‘inorganic’ things are still in nature totally different from

minds or spirits. In this reference the Leibnizian idealism and its later development in the hands of Lotze, Prof. Ward and Prof. Taylor seem to represent the essence of a more thorough-going idealism. The later writers while developing Leibniz's thought have been content to give up and criticise Leibniz's conception of windowless monads, *i.e.*, the absolute isolation of monads, and replace it by a theory of interaction. A thorough-going idealism consistently developed seems to me to terminate in monadism or pan-psychism, for, if it be once admitted that the differentiations of the Absolute Spirit are themselves spirits what logical ground is there for curtailing the sphere of the so-called 'differentiations' and for confining them to the realm of the 'organic'? This seems to leave a gap in the doctrine and deprive it of coherence and consistency. What ground have we, it would be asked, from the standpoints of idealism, for ascribing one kind of existence to one part of the system of nature and not the same kind of existence to the remainder? To be consistent with its fundamental principle, namely, that the world is through and through spiritual, idealism, in its objective form, may be said to lead to a personalistic conception of nature, *i.e.*, if a thing is to exist it must be something on its own account or an active centre of reference, and in this respect we can ascribe to it a self or soul on the analogy of our own self, of which only we have a first-hand knowledge as an active centre of reference. But this should not blind us to the fact that personality admits of degrees, and if we designate human beings as 'persons,' we shall, perhaps, be justified in calling all sub-human beings 'sub-persons,' *i.e.*, they are, at least, conative centres of activity. Thus, this ascription of selves to other things in nature may be said to proceed on a logical basis, and as Mr. Richardson aptly puts it, "the existence of at least one self being granted, we proceed to assume the existence of other selves." And, perhaps, since we are prevented by our special psychical structure from communicating with the

so-called 'inorganic' objects we too hastily assume that they are inanimate. But the assumption may be unwarranted.

But it may still be asked, what proof is there for such a conclusion? In establishing monadism we may adduce two sorts of proof—*scientific* and *speculative*. I should here consider in brief only the speculative ground on which monadism is based. The chief ground seems to me to be the principle of continuity, as propounded by Leibniz. The principle of continuity seems to have won general recognition and is now frequently called into requisition both in the field of science (*cf.* for instance, A. R. Wallace, *Natural Selection and Tropical Nature*, pp. 204 ff.) and in that of philosophy. Again, in this connexion the question may be raised as to what grounds one has for assuming that other beings besides one's self possess minds or souls at all, and whether the grounds which we consider valid in this regard are not equally grounds for attributing also to so-called 'inorganic' objects, minds or souls? The question as to how we know other minds may be answered from two points of view, the one more or less speculative and the other psychological. It is with the latter that we are here chiefly concerned. The more speculative answer to the question is illustrated in such phenomena as telepathic action, etc., and from the point of view of our knowledge of other minds may be said to be direct, that is to say, if we assume that the Absolute is present wholly and undividedly in its differentiations, then the relation of the individuals to one another may be said to be direct through a common basis. But this more speculative mode of treating the problem is far from being that of common-sense and the strength it may have can only be estimated by those who are familiar with the phenomena referred to. Let us then confine our attention to the psychological aspect of the problem. The usual psychological doctrine is that we know other minds mediately and not immediately, that is to say, our knowledge of other minds is *inferential*. All we can directly know of

other individuals are the outward expressions of their mental life, and where such outward expression resembles those of our own with which we are acquainted we infer that since the latter are expressions of a mind or soul the former must also be the outward manifestations of an inner mental life. Minds may be said then to communicate by means of bodily actions and perhaps their community of nature provides the basis for certainty of inference when one mind thus interprets another. The inferential process is more implicit than explicit, especially in child life, but probably unconscious inference of this sort plays a not unimportant part even in the ordinary perceptive experience of the nature of mental life. Now, from this psychological point of view there seems to be no strong ground for excluding a similar inference that behind the actions of the so-called 'inorganic' things there are also mental lives and souls. It is true we do not ordinarily draw that inference, although in primitive human thought the wide prevalence of 'animism' is, in this respect, noteworthy. The reason why in our own case such inference is precluded may be due to the fact that, in consequence of our peculiar organisation, we have no means of communicating with mental lives of a low stage of development. Yet the progress of science may in the future find a means of overcoming that difficulty.

The strength of a metaphysical theory is to be judged by its capacity of explaining consistently the facts of experience, and in this respect monadism seems to afford a more satisfactory explanation of the world of plurality in keeping with a fundamental unity, than does any other theory of an idealistic type. And here we should emphasise the essentially theistic character of monadism, in spite of Mr. Russell's assertion that a monadism, when it is logical, is necessarily atheistic. (*Vide Philosophy of Leibniz*, p. 172.) The conception of a world of interacting monads or souls logically implies a unity which is the common ground of their interaction; otherwise it is difficult to see how any intelligible meaning can be given to the

conception of activity. The 'many' need "an ontological unity for their cosmological unity" and "a teleological unity for their varied ends" (Ward, *Realm of Ends*, p. 442), and such an ontological unity cannot be like a changeless and indifferent centre round which the world whirls, but must be an active, living, interested spirit, possessing what we, from our human point of view, cannot otherwise describe than as intelligence and will, and thus as personal, while admitting that Bradley may be right that, as viewed from a higher point of view than ours, it must in truth be super-personal. But personal or supra-personal the Absolute is the *informing spirit* of the 'many' or the differentiated world of objects and is immanent in them; while at the same time, it is also transcendent, in as much as its whole nature is not exhausted in the differentiated world. As transcendent it is a unique individual and differentiated from other individuals whose manifestations they are.

Such is the general conclusion. Let us now turn to the particular problem of the relation of body and mind. Here the problem of the One and the Many may be said to reappear, as it were, in miniature. From the point of view of monadism, or, as it may perhaps be called 'personal idealism,' the relation must be described as the relation of a Soul to other souls, the organisation of these other souls constituting what is called the 'body.' Thus in a commonwealth of souls we are, perhaps, justified in saying with Leibniz that *the* Soul, which constitutes a human being's individuality, is the dominant or presiding monad over the other monads which may be rightly described as subordinate, the chief function of which may be to serve the interests and purposes of the dominant monad, at any rate in the situation in which they are placed by what may be called a divine act. The relation of the soul to body is accordingly to be conceived as an intra-subjective relation and not a relation of subject to object. Or the relation of subordinate monads to the dominant monad may be said to be a 'functional' relation as distinguished from what may be called the 'foreign' relation

to other groups of dominant and subordinate monads, and this 'functional' relation is that intimate relation which Prof. Ward describes as 'immediate *rapport*,' or, as others call it, telepathy. An individual organism then may, in truth, be likened to a society of individual human beings where effective co-operation of the members takes place in accordance with their consentience and mutual adaptation rather than through external constraint. In this connexion it remains to ask : how an individual organism, being a commonwealth or society of monads or souls each having perhaps different purposes and interests, act in concert as an individual. Though this question may rightly be dealt with by pointing to the parallel instance of the action of a society where each member or individual is not a law unto himself, and where without ceasing to be individual each becomes subordinate to a super-individual, yet it requires more detailed consideration. Let us take, for instance, the case of an individual acting on the occasion of an external physical stimulus. Though particular parts of the body may be affected, yet an adjustment takes place in the whole organism, and in most cases the organism may be said to re-act as a *whole*. The reaction is purposive having for its aim the well-being of the organism as a whole in the changed situation caused by the stimulus, and this reference to the whole has a particular direction in so far as the dominant consciousness permeates that whole. The mind or soul must not be regarded as merely transcendent to the body, but also as immanent in the body, and such immanence is what Prof. Ward means by the phrase 'sympathetic *rapport*.' It is in virtue of the immanence of the dominant monad in the attendant group of subordinate monads that they interact, and the immanence may, as a concrete principle, be said to be the ground of their co-operation to secure which all their efforts may be said to be ultimately directed. But the relation is not one-sided, for in that case the subordinate monads would lose their individuality and freedom. On the contrary, the kingdom or society of monads may be said to be

truly a republic in which each, being a soul, has its own unique interest and purpose and so possesses a distinct place in the commonwealth. These individual interests and purposes cannot be ignored without detriment to the welfare of the whole. This fact is illustrated in our everyday duty of looking after the needs and wants of what is called the bodily organism in order to keep it in tone, the disregard of which would occasion disaster to the whole organism. Such recognition shows the unique place of the body in the economy of what we call our life.

J. K. MAJUMDAR

THE MINSTREL OF BRIDPORT

New England has had her troubadours and her inglorious Villons. With the passing into oblivion of the stagecoach, however, and of laws not too inimical to vagabondage, there slid into the background likewise, obscured by a new screen of decorum and orderliness, that picturesque panel of early American history the chief ornament of which was the itinerant entertainer and wit.

Alexander was a mason by occupation. By inclination he was a scholar and a poet. He had learned his trade early from his father, but while yet an adolescent Alexander had become aware that he could live by his wits if he so desired. Inhabitants of the village in which he was born—a hamlet named Bridport, snug in the Champlain Valley—always greeted the boy with a smile of pleasure. They were amused by his quick tongue and his arrogant devil-may-care manner. At length one of the youth's admirers, a public-spirited citizen of the town volunteered to give the quick-witted Alexander, son of the village mason, a college education.

It was in the days when the stagecoach paused twice daily before the square red hotel in Bridport and relayed its horses. Alexander drove off gaily one day to Middlebury, eight miles distant, where there was a college. But in a few months he was back again in his native village—expelled because of incorrigibility.

The young man's patron was unreasonably wrathful; but Alexander only laughed. He could be a scholar without going to college, he maintained. And his professors, for their part, willingly admitted that their charge from the tiny inland town had excelled in his studies, albeit he often appeared in their classrooms drunk.

Thereafter the mason-student became a guest of the hotel during the day and a guest in his father's very humble home

at night. The proprietor of Bridport's chief hostelry, whose name was Joshua Hill, could not resist the young idler.

"Give me a rhyme in two minutes," he said one day as Alexander stood waiting disconsolately in the bar for the arrival of someone who should buy him a drink. "Give me a rhyme and I'll set you up myself!"

Alexander leaned insolently on the ledge of the bar. He ran his fingers lightly through his mop of glossy black hair. Then with great aplomb he recited the lines of his doggerel—

" 'Hill and hell,' he said,
Begin with the same letter.
If Hill were in hell,
Bridport were better.' "

"Well, well!" ejaculated Joshua Hill. "Quick as a flash, wa'n't it? Have some drinks on me—all you want, my boy!"

In truth the old Puritan proprietor, though his personal pride was frequently offended by Alexander's wit, was prone to boast, to all who would listen, of the unusual kind of entertainment his inn afforded its guests. Day after day new arrivals in the village, or transients resting in the coolness of the vast piazza while fresh horses were being obtained, laughed at the young idler's description of the town characters.

"Who is the Crazy Eliza ye mentioned?" a stranger asked, at the conclusion of some story narrated by the mason.

"Eliza," elucidated the minstrel:

"Liza is a crazy bird.
She once had a lover,
Who left with never a word.

"Liza is a crazy bird.
She once had a lover:
But now she sleeps all night
In dewest fields of clover."

There were those in the town who insisted that Alexander was a poet as well as a versifier. They had heard him, they

said, mumbling musical lines with a haunting sound and sonorous phrases that might be Latin whenever the churchbell tolled for a funeral; or when a beautiful woman descended magnificently from the stagecoach and stood, like an angel from the heaven, on the green lawn before the hotel, or when a child played in innocence under the wide spreading trees. But if he were asked to repeat the oftspoken verses, Alexander drew himself together with a start, a flash of humour appeared in his deep eyes and the expression of melancholy departed from his countenance.

"I was just saying to myself," he would aver, "that life is a great jest"—

"Life is a joke—

Who's got the joker?

'Come in, my friend,

And stake me

To a game of whisky poker!'"

Alexander's fame spread throughout the country. After a time Bridport saw its native troubadour but rarely. Other towns claimed him for their own. Wherever ale and cider were in abundance, there—well received and at his ease—was Alexander. Families in great manorial homes received him gladly. Many a stormbound night was enlivened for them by this travelling minstrel who said he was a mason but who was in reality a conversationalist and a gentleman of leisure. The vagabond had no money and needed none. He lived bountifully on the bounty of his patrons. For years Alexander flourished in this manner—to all appearances happy, even though life might be no more than a jest and his role in it no more than that of a clown.

As the years rolled by, however, ale and beer and cider assumed an increasingly important place in the troubadour's existence. Eventually certain homes refused to allow admittance to their minnesinger unless he appeared in what they termed a "proper condition." Gradually there were more and

more families which did not care to offer their hospitality to the now ageing vagabond unless he were willing to work. And so Alexander occasionally plied his trade from necessity. Yet more frequently he rebelled and slept for days, intoxicated and half-crazed, in some complaisant farmer's hayloft.

The new generation seemed more difficult to amuse than the older generation had been. Each age, Alexander learned, possesses its own variety of humours. There were days now when the wanderer hung his head in shame and begged from door to door. There were other times when he returned to his native hamlet and worked at odd jobs or lived upon the charity of the town. For at this period the stagecoach had disappeared, the rail had left the village entirely isolated and the rambling old hotel which had once belonged to Joshua Hill was fast falling into decay.

In his last years, still dependent on the village for his maintenance, Alexander saw few of his old friends. Most of them had died. Now and then, however, someone remembered him and asked for a song. On these occasions the ancient vagabond's face assumed an expression of joyfulness and his voice took on something of its old timbre. But there was a new acidulousness, too, in the old man's fun.

"I'm on the town," the greyhaired Alexander said, shaking his head in mock mournfulness—

"I'm on the town
But ye needn't laugh.
Many a cow
Has died for her calf.

"Many a man
Has drunk his doom down.
Many a prophet
Has died on the town!"

They gave him space in one of the dim cool cemeteries of the village, under a willow tree. There is no stone to mark

his resting place, but the poet wrote his own epitaph and had it inscribed in the Town Clerk's register for posterity. He said :—

“ Here lies Alexander,
Who greatly to his ale
Did pander.”

“ Vagabond and scholar
He often dined without
His collar.”

“ The world was all his own
And owes him not so much
As one cold stone.”

FRANCES FLETCHER

SEA-PICTURES

The little truant foam-flecked waves
Steal up and kiss the sand ;
And joyous children, fearlessly,
Approach them, hand in hand.
And all that stretch of sea and sky,
And curling waves of white,
And gleaming miles of sun-lit beach,
And gulls in tireless flight,
Are but a picture in their eyes,
Their play-mates, glad and free ;
For childish hearts can reckon nought
Of harvest 'neath the sea.
To older eyes, envisioned there,
The stretches of the deep.
Seem but secretive, sullen graves,
Where countless martyrs sleep.
Oh eyes of youth, divinely blind
To shadows on the sea ;
Oh hearts that throb to joys of life,
But not its mystery ;
I envy you your innocence,
Your freedom and your play !
Alas ! that such gay imagery
Must so soon fade away.
To me, each wave that shoreward rolls,
Brings tidings from the sea,
And list'ning ears may hear them sob
And mourn unceasingly.

LILY S. ANDERSON

TECHNICAL EDUCATION IN INDIA

There is very little provision in English Technical Schools for training in workshop practice: far less than there is in such places as Roorkee, Sibpur and Benares. No college in England is very far from the workshop of some great commercial firm, and in general it is supposed that workshop training will be obtained, not in the college but in one of these.

College workshops where they exist are seldom large, and are used not for training students, but for the manufacture and repair of laboratory apparatus. This is as it should be in a fully industrialized country.

We have already endeavoured to make it clear that the manipulation of modern machines requires very little skill. Nevertheless a period of years in the workshop is an essential part of every engineer's training. There is much to be learned there that cannot be taught in a school, or at best can only be very imperfectly taught. The truth, a bitter one for the mechanical enthusiast, that a workshop exists primarily, not to make engines, machines, structures, or interesting experiments but to make dividends, is one that can only fully be realized by a close, early and late participation in the process.

The driving force of a modern workshop exposed to commercial competition is no less imperative than the struggle for bread. The atmosphere of strenuous endeavour, of organized discipline, and of efficiency that exists in every successful commercial workshop can never be imitated in a college workshop.

It is also very desirable that a young man who among other things, may have to control labour, should spend two or three years in close and familiar contact with working men as one of themselves. No one will ever understand the mentality of the working man as well as he who has been a working man

himself. This feature of a complete workshop training is also absent from the college workshop.

Under modern conditions, in Europe and America a machine, even if driven night and day and absorbing its full value in raw material once or twice a week, is usually obsolete, and useless as an agent of competition, long before it is worn out. This is due partly to the great advances in metallurgy of recent years, and even more to the accelerated pace of invention. In a commercial workshop all machines must be ruthlessly scrapped and replaced by more up-to-date ones about once in every ten years, on an average.

On the other hand, in a college workshop, the machines are never driven as they are designed to be driven; partly because headlong haste is utterly adverse from the spirit of a teaching institution and partly because no school budget could face the terrific consumption of raw material, resulting in a product practically unsaleable because made by beginners. As soon as a student became sufficiently conversant with the machine to make a saleable article at a sufficient speed the natural impulse of a teacher would be to move him on to something new. The result of all this is that a college workshop, after a very few years, contains a quantity of machinery as good as new and more or less obsolete. The money spent on it has been almost entirely wasted.

With one or two ill-advised exceptions therefore, most of the technical institutions in England frame their courses on the assumption that they have nothing to do with the workshop part of an engineer's training. Unfortunately, from India's point of view, they even commonly grant degrees in Engineering, without insisting on proof that the candidate has had adequate workshop training. The Indian student in England restricted both in time and money usually takes full advantage of this, gets an exemption from one or two years even of the college course on the strength of an Indian degree in pure science, and returns the proud possessor of an English degree

in Engineering, without any workshop training whatever. Such a man is far less efficient in practice than the ordinary graduate of Roorkee, Sibpur, or Benares, who has had a training in all departments including the workshop, though it was of course only a college workshop. Young men sent from India to Europe or America to be trained as Engineers, should usually be sent for workshop training only, if the object is to make them of use to their country. Theory they must have, of course, and lots of it, but that is more cheaply taught in India by a few imported teachers, than by sending the students to England in hundreds. But this should not be taken to mean that it is a mistake to send students to the West in all cases. With the exception of Tata's Metallurgical Works, there is throughout the whole of India not a single really modern workshop. Only those who have seen it can realize the great stride forward that was made throughout Europe during the war. Money was poured out like water in order to fit workshops for an output such as the World had never seen before. Nothing could be more instructive for a really able Indian student than to observe for himself the application of these new methods to the purposes of Peace. But this valuable lesson is entirely missed by a young man of no particular ability who spends all his time in Europe cramming text-books, easily obtainable from any book-seller in India. An occasional visit or even an interval of a few months in a workshop is of very little use. Two or three years is required. The organisation is so complex, mechanically and commercially, that a short visit can produce only a feeling of confusion and discouragement. Ordinary ability will never make anything of it. State assistance for study in the West, so far as industry is concerned, should be confined strictly to those students who have already completed their ordinary training in India and have shown much more than mediocre talent. It should never be sanctioned for the purpose of obtaining yet another paper qualification. It should be always for workshop training. If it is thought

expedient, because of the great value that Indians attach to letters after their names, these may be added by Indian institutions, on their return, on the strength of properly documented proof of a considerable period of workshop training abroad. It has become usual for English Engineers who have succeeded in winning a Whitworth Scholarship, to add "Wh. Sch." after their names for the rest of their lives, and this particular ornament is now universally recognized as evidence of very exceptional ability. This indicates how the value of a useful Western training may be acknowledged in India, always provided, of course, that a State Scholarship is never given to a second-rate man. As things are at present a European Degree in Engineering or Technology may, and often does, mean only that the holder has evaded that part of his training without which all his knowledge is of no practical value. Practice without theory is at least useful in subordinate positions. Theory without practice is quite useless in any position. The man who has this kind of training inevitably gravitates into a teacher's post where he hands on his abstract knowledge, still more abstracted from real life.

So far we have stressed that part of workshop training that can be obtained only in a commercial workshop. Where the choice is between a commercial and school workshop the former is always to be chosen. But generally speaking the choice does not exist in India. There are a few exceptions but not many. If no good workshop exists in the district, a College in this country must do its best to make good the omission. Those who organized our best schools have fully realized this and very good and complete workshops are to be found in most Indian Colleges. Most of them do a certain amount of commercial work and have been in a small measure successful in producing somewhat of the commercial atmosphere. Even if that were missing altogether a workshop of some kind is essential. Without it the teaching is wholly unreal.

There are three departments in which theoretical instruction may be made practically effective: the Drawing Office ;

the Laboratory ; and the Workshop. The student who sits down to produce a working drawing of some machine, engine, or structure, provided with no more than a specification of what it must be able to do, becomes immediately aware that courses of lectures, and puzzles in the way of numerical examples, have left enormous gaps in his knowledge. He is driven to read and observe far and wide to fill them, and if he is conscientious in not guessing too much, and in endeavouring to see that every available guidance has been used ; he will greatly extend his knowledge. But when all is done in that way that can be done, he will have before him only a number of solved problems. If his machine were actually built and tested it would at once exhibit as many unsolved ones that he had never even suspected. It is to draw attention to these that a workshop is required. No problem stated in words on paper ever contains more than a few of the most important factors, but this is never realized by a man educated only in calculations leading from exactly stated data to an inevitable conclusion. The difference between such a man and the modern scientific engineer who checks every step in his reasoning by experiment in order to find out how important the neglected data, are ; is of the same nature as the difference between Aristotle and Newton. The first is living in an imaginary world of his own creation, while the second is careful to keep his feet firmly planted on the earth.

Though the laboratory like the workshop exists to preserve contact with reality, its method is quite different. The atmosphere of a workshop is instinct with energy. The object is output and literally "Time is Money." It is not so in the laboratory. There the object is the discovery of truth and time is of very little account. A laboratory exists to inculcate a habit of patient, conscientious, exact observation. Nine out of ten of the great modern discoveries are due to a more careful re-measurement of some quantity that has often been measured before. It is quite wrong to conceive a laboratory as a place where students go through a series of experiments (one every

three hours!) co-ordinated with some course of lectures as a confirmation of theory. Such co-ordination is impossible. The theory course sums up the fruits of many centuries of experiment in a few weeks. Students can be hustled into pretending to repeat the experiments also in the same time, but they are really being educated as liars, and in the art of shutting one's eyes to inconvenient facts. A true experimenter is looking for something new and unforeseen. The student performing a course of experiments co-ordinated with a lecture course is looking for something he has been told to expect. Of course he finds it whether it is there or not. He would lose marks if he didn't.

Laboratory training on the right lines, follows no syllabus, and expects no foreseen results. It exacts infinite patience and ruthless honesty. The reactions on the investigator's character are of very great value. It is one of the chief factors of a liberal education such as is required by a leader of national thought. There is nothing in the Indian mind antipathetic to this kind of work. There are on the contrary a number of distinguished examples of success along these lines such as Sir Jagadish Bose, Professor C. V. Raman and many others.

An English visitor to one of the important Indian Engineering Schools is always most impressed by the fact that it contains much more extensive workshops than an English College does, and very poor laboratories, if any. There are two reasons for this : one partly valid, the other indefensible. The first is that the workshop is supposed to serve the purpose of a laboratory. To some extent it does ; but very imperfectly. The other is that it has not been supposed until recently that the Indian Engineering Schools would train master men at all. The courses were frankly described as "Subordinate" courses ; and naturally a subordinate does not require laboratory work except perhaps as a perfunctory mnemonic for a few simple principles.

Within their preconceived limits, avowed or unavowed, Indian Technical Schools attain a very high standard, especially

in Civil Engineering. It is very doubtful if a man who has passed successfully through the Subordinate classes in Roorkee, would learn anything more from the ordinary degree course in Civil Engineering of an English University. The atmosphere would be very different but the standard of instruction little if at all higher. His further progress would be in the laboratory, and perhaps certain aspects of Sanitary and Municipal Engineering.

On the whole it may be said that the teaching of Civil Engineering in India is extraordinarily good and that an English student of an English College in that subject would benefit more by going to Roorkee than a Roorkee graduate would benefit from a course in an English College. Of both it may be said without much error, that the principal gain would be that which always results from extended experience in another country.

Apart from the colleges of or about of University standard there are throughout India many schools teaching craftsmanship and the use of machinery. Certain Christian Missions, notably the American and the Roman Catholic, are doing very good work along these lines. They deserve encouragement in that part of their work, and the gratitude of the country for it ; as they are doing much to raise the standard of craftsmanship wherever they operate.

But we should beware of the fallacy that teaching of mere craftsmanship is the whole, or even the most important, part of technical education, and should not allow it to be assumed that all that is wanted is a great multiplication of institutions teaching skill. India will ultimately have to take her place in the modern world, and as was explained in the beginning the direction of industrial development is away from skill.

If India refuses to accept the machine she may do one of two things. • She may exclude the machine-made article by prohibitive duties, in which case the whole of the consuming public will be compelled to pay very high prices for an inferior article,

Or she may open her ports, and see the producers in her own country ruined by a competition impossible to resist.

It will be of no avail that labour in India only costs a tenth as much as in the West. One man armed with power-driven machinery can do the work of a hundred artisans working with their hands. Besides, who that loves India can hope that labour will continue to be cheap. "Cheapness of labour" in this connection is only a euphemism for "misery of the working class."

L. D. COUESLANT.

IMPRESSIONS OF AWAKENED ITALY

During the last three years, I have visited various sections of Italy, with the express purpose of learning what this newly awakened nation of 42,000,000 people, led by Signor Mussolini and his advisers, has been trying to accomplish. My visit to Italy has been to learn and I have learnt a great deal which is a matter of assimilation of the spirit and which cannot be put in black and white. I shall record a few facts about Italy which have international significance.

I. Fascist Regime in Sicily.

The Fascists believe that, what the ordinary man wants is not abstract right but the right to work and enjoy a higher standard of living. They also believe that a man will never make the best effort to produce the most, unless he feels sure that he would be benefited by such efforts. Thus common man wants security, so that he would not be robbed and plundered.

Sicily used to be infested with the Mafias who lived upon plundering law-abiding people. The Fascist regime in Sicily has taken the most vigorous measures to get rid of Mafias in Sicily, so that there will be security for the common man. The Fascist authorities have taken steps to develop water-power and transportation system in Sicily, so that the farmers will be able to harness water-power and also be able to market their products. Sicily has very fertile soil and agreeable climatic conditions, and if it is properly developed agriculturally, it will be able to produce enough food to meet the major part of Italian national demand. Thus in Sicily I found the Fascist regime very active to make Sicily the most precious possession of Italy. The Italian Government is not anxious that the Italians go to foreign countries as common labourers, but it is encouraging the Italians to populate Sicily and develop its resources.

From the strategic point of view, Sicily is the front gate of Italy. It is near to the Dardanelles, Malta and the Suez Canal. It is the great Italian outpost in the Mediterranean and the Italian African possessions. Italy is bound to develop the existing naval bases and air-ports ; and one travelling in Sicily cannot help noticing visible signs of it.

One travelling in Sicily finds evidences of the rich civilization of the Corinthians, Carthegenians, Greeks, Romans, Normans and Arabs. It was from Sicily that Garibaldi with his gallant comrades started to the Italian mainland to carry on the struggle for Italian independence ; and it was to Sicily, near Taormina, that the great Italian hero returned, after finishing his share of the great work, to lead the life of a common farmer. Possibly no part of Europe has seen such an admixture of civilizations of various peoples, as Sicily. It may be said that the Greek civilization penetrated into Europe through Sicily—Sicilian cities of Syracuse and Aggrentium rivalled the great Greek cities of the past. One may find the signs of new life in Sicily which promises to produce a newer and greater civilization there. Sicilian ports nearest to the Orient and Africa will again play an important rôle in the history of the world.

II. Italy's Position in International Politics.

The ambition of Signor Mussolini is to secure for Italy the position of the dominant Power in the Mediterranean and that of one of the Great Powers in the World.

This ambition cannot be realised in a year or even a decade, but there can be no denying that a great deal of progress has been made towards the attainment of this end.

(a) *Anglo-Italian Relations.*—It may be said that the cardinal factor in the Italian foreign policy of to-day is to be in virtual alliance with Great Britain. This policy has been deliberately followed by the present regime, not to remain as an adjunct of the British Foreign Office, but to promote Italian

interests, through British support and Anglo-Italian co-operation in the field of politics, finance and industry.

Great Britain needs an ally in the Mediterranean and she has chosen Italy in place of France. Just as at the beginning of the twentieth century, Great Britain, facing Russian hostility in the Far East chose Japan, the rising power in the Far East, as an ally, similarly Britain to protect her interests in the Mediterranean and the Near East has chosen Italy as a virtual ally.

Great Britain has made various concessions to Italy in Africa in economic and financial matters ; and in every question of international controversy between Italy and some other Power, Britain has lent her support to the Italian Government. It may be generalised that in various controversies between France and Italy, British support has been with Italy and it is with British support that Italy is contending to assert her position in the Tangier controversy.

Great Britain is no altruist ; what does she expect from Italy? She expects that Italy will not make a common cause with any enemy of Great Britain and in time of emergency the Italian naval power, air forces, man power and strategic positions, may be utilised to protect British interests in the Mediterranean and the Near East. To be more explicit, it may be said that as during the World War, Britain had to concentrate the major part of her navy on the North Sea, while the French protected the Mediterranean, the Japanese patrolled the Pacific and the Indian Oceans, similarly in the near future there may arise situations which will force Britain to concentrate her navy on the North Atlantic and the South Pacific (Singapore Base, etc.) ; then she may have the advantage of Italian co-operation.

(b) *Franco-Italian relations*.—The Italian Government, under the direction of Signor Mussolini, feels that Italy should play the rôle of the dominant Mediterranean Power. This attitude has been interpreted as hostile to France. Furthermore Italian Government's demands regarding the rights of the Italians

in French African colonies have produced friction between these two Latin powers. France welcomes Italian immigrants to her colonies, but she wants that the children of the Italian colonists, if not the Italian colonists themselves, must function as French citizens; while the Italian Government objects to the French programme of Frenchifying Italians. From the standpoint of international law France has the right, but the Italian Government does not want to lose its citizens who settle in French territories, and thus it wants the Italians and their children to retain Italian nationality.

Then again Italy's Balkan policy is distinctly anti-French, because it hurts France's allies. Italy is not only attempting to resume the rôle of a dominant Power in the Mediterranean, but she has taken the position of a Great European Power, having vital interests in the Balkans. France, in order to maintain her dominant position on the Continent, has made defensive and offensive alliances with Belgium, Poland, Czechoslovakia, Jugo-Slavia and Rumania. Italy's Balkan policy is to assume leadership with a group of Powers so that Italy will be predominant in the Balkans and thus French influence will be proportionately reduced in the European Continent. Great Britain approves this policy of Italy, because it would result in Franco-Italian rivalry which would enhance British influence on the Continent.

Following this policy, Italy has established a very close economic relation with Rumania. Italy has made some secret understanding with Hungary which amounts to alliance. This has encouraged Hungary against those States which are not in perfect accord with her. Italy has adopted the aggressive policy of establishing a virtual protectorate over Albania, which is regarded as a threat to Jugo-Slavia. At the same time Italy is trying to win over Greece as well as Turkey to her side by some definite understanding of friendship with these two nations.

(c) *German-Italian Relations.*—Mussolini as a practical statesman cannot ignore the fact that the German people are the

strongest racial element or group in Europe. They may be disarmed to-day, but this condition will be changed in course of time. Germany has again become a dominant factor in international commerce. As it was through Prussian support, Italy succeeded to assert her independence, similarly it is clear that if Italy is to become a dominant Power in the Balkans and the Mediterranean (in spite of French opposition) *Italy needs German friendship. Italy, like Great Britain, does not want a virtual Franco-German economic and political alliance ; so the Italian Government is agreeable to German ambitions in those directions which will not affect Italy's position, but might lead to Franco-German estrangement.* For that reason, it is generally regarded that the Italian Government is agreeable to such changes of the Eastern frontier of Germany as will eliminate the Polish corridor. Italy has nothing against Poland, but if Poland as an ally of France and supporter of Czecho-Slovakia and Jugoslavia suffers, Italy has nothing to regret ; on the contrary, it will please her greatly, as it will lead to reduction of French influence in Poland and indirectly in the Balkans and will diminish the chance of a Franco-German understanding.

Italy approves of German aspirations for colonies in Africa, provided that Italy was accorded some territory in Africa or Asia Minor. Germany's re-entry into African politics will not hurt Italy, but it may afford a chance of using German support in Italian African and Mediterranean policy against France.

Italy has annexed South Tyrol with German minorities. Here Italian and German policies are in direct conflict. The German people may not have felt so seriously against Italian policy in Tyrol, if the Tyrolese (German-speaking and thoroughly German in culture) were not forced to be Italianised overnight by the same method which was once practised in Poland by Prussia, Russia and Austria. Italian policy in South Tyrol is to plant more Italians in that region than the German-speaking Tyrolese so that in a few years South Tyrol will be more Italian than German. The German people cannot but resent

this policy, but if *South Tyrol is to remain as Italian territory, Italian Government has perfect legal right to follow any internal policy it chooses. However, the South Tyrol question may prove to be as thorny as the Alsace-Lorraine question proved to be with Germany.*

Under the present circumstances, Italy is opposed to German absorption of Austria, because Italy, with the support of Hungary can ignore all oppositions against Italian policy in South Tyrol, but if Germany ever absorbs Austria and follows an anti-Italian policy in South Tyrol, then it would not be so easy for Italy to cope with the situation. As things stand to-day in international politics, it is Italy which needs German support more than Germany Italian aid. Germany has nothing to gain by taking a side in the latent Franco-Italian and Anglo-French rivalry.

(d) *Italo-Russian Relations.*—Italy was one of the first European Powers to recognise Soviet Russian Government and to establish commercial relations with it. Italy took this step with the expectation, that she will secure food-stuff and raw-materials from Russia and export her industrial products to that country. But Italian recognition of Rumanian claims in Bessarabia, Italian support to Rumania and Hungary, Italian opposition to Yugo-Slavia and Italian adherence to the British policy in China and other parts of the world, have strained Italo-Soviet relations. Furthermore Fascism is regarded as the bitterest opponent of communism. However, the Italian Government did not break up diplomatic relations with the Soviet Government, when Great Britain did. Italy is not interested in hurting Russia, but at the same time she is not interested in supporting the Soviet Government, because the latter cannot aid Italy to improve her economic, industrial and political power. If Turkey, Greece, Rumania, Hungary and Great Britain remain friendly to Italy, it is not probable that Russia without the support of other Powers can ever hurt Italy internationally. As it is reasonably certain that Russia cannot secure support from Germany or France

against Italy, the Italian attitude towards the Soviet diplomacy is more of indifference than hostility.

(e) Italy is trying to establish unwritten alliance with Spain and Belgium, through marriages contracted by the royal families of Italy with those of Spain and Belgium. It is expected by Italian statesmen that Spanish support to Italy in the Mediterranean and Belgian support in general European politics will strengthen Italy's position as a Great Power.

(f) Italy's relation with the United States of America is most cordial. The success of the Fascist regime to wipe out the communist agitation in Italy has impressed the American statesmen and financiers most favourably. It is generally regarded in American financial circles that Italy has not only set her house in order, but the Government of Mussolini has saved Europe from the menace of the spread of communism. Furthermore American financiers have aided the Italian industrialists as well as Government to float loans in America. This has cemented Italo-American friendship. Italy and America have no conflicting interests in international relations; thus Italy is doing her best to secure American economic support to build up her industry and commerce.

(g) Since the inauguration of the Immigration restriction policy in the United States, large numbers of Italians are migrating to the South American Republics. The Italian population in the Argentine and other South American Republics is influential, and one of the present tendencies of Italian foreign policy is to augment Italian commercial and financial interests in these countries; thus the Italian Government is encouraging the shipping to South America in every possible way.

(h) Italy's relations with Asian countries in general have been friendly. She has maintained cordial relations with Japan and there is every reason to believe that there will be closer collaboration with Japan in International Immigration and Raw Material questions. In the past, Italy tried to secure a sphere

of influence in China, but she did not succeed. During recent years, Italy has showed sympathy towards Chinese national aspirations, although Italian naval vessels, as a matter of policy, joined with the British fleet in making a demonstration in Chinese waters.

It is well known that Signor Mussolini was one of the first European statesmen who agreed to terminate the then existing extra-territorial jurisdiction in Siam. So it is needless to point out that Italy is friendly to Siamese aspirations as a nation. *I may say with great confidence that although Italy is practically an ally of Great Britain, Italian statesmen and people in general entertain friendly feeling towards the people of India and they desire that India should have her national freedom, provided the Indian people are able to extort it by their own efforts, from their alien masters.* The warm reception accorded to the King of Afghanistan indicates that Italy is anxious to maintain friendship with the liberty-loving people of that country. Italy has no special ambition in Persia, and it is expected that Italian policy will be in favour of terminating extra-territorial jurisdiction of Western nations in that country. Although it is generally regarded that Italy has the ambition to secure some territory in Asia Minor, it may be safely asserted that the present tendency of Italian policy towards Turkey is most cordial.

(i) *Italian statesmen are realists and not sentimentalists. They want to make Italy great; and they know that they must not try to accomplish too much within a short time. They also know that they will have to accomplish one thing at a time and much can be done through friendship of various nations than by fighting powerful hostile combinations. Lastly they know that a nation's position in international politics largely depends upon its own actual power and stability of internal condition. Thus they are bent upon exerting their best energies to promote Italian power, while maintaining friendship with all the nations without sacrificing Italy's vital national interests.*

III. Italy's Internal Condition.

The Fascist regime in Italy is carrying on a great experiment in government and industrial development of a nation. I advisedly say that conditions are as hopeful as they can be under an experiment. However, it may be said that the experiment so far has proved to be exceedingly successful.

It may not be out of place to remind our readers that when the Italians fought the Austrians to regain their national independence, Mazzini and his followers thought that they would establish a Republic; but as a matter of practical politics a constitutional monarchy gained the foot-hold in Italy. And it has survived even after the World War, when Italy was under the influence of radical socialist revolutionary leaders. Before the Fascists came to power, the Italian radicals had a chance to demonstrate their ability to administer the country, but they did not prove their ability in that field. Fascists came to power, after a revolution (although not a very violent one) and it is probably going to stay in Italy, and it may leave its mark in the history of civilization, possibly in a far more lasting manner than the effects of the Communist Revolution in Russia.

The Fascist conception of Government is opposed to democracy and it is a form of dictatorship, but it is **not** a class rule based upon the conception of class struggle of the communists. Fascists have applied the theory of syndicalism in Government as well as industry and they extol an individual's duty to the nation far more than an individual's rights for himself. The new conception recognises the difference of functions of various groups in any society, and at the same time it advocates that these groups must co-operate under the leadership of the wisest and the best of their group for the greatest good of the nation as a whole. Thus Fascists have inaugurated the new Corporation Law, a scheme which gives various professional groups representations in the Legislature, as well as to Labour. It denies the right of any individual or any group to carry on any activity

which may hurt any other group or the nation as a whole; and on that basis they have prohibited strikes and lock-outs and all forms of industrial warfares including cut-throat commercial competition.

When the above and very brief philosophical outline of the foundation of the Fascist government is taken into consideration, one can easily see that there is no room for an Opposition Party. It demands that all must work for the scheme which will lead to greatness of the nation through increased national efficiency and co-operation of all its members and through hard discipline. Thus the Fascist Government frankly accepts that a government by efficient experts should not be dependent upon the so-called majority of the people, who often do not know what is best for their own interest. It is frankly anti-democratic and anti-Parliamentary in spirit and it is honest when it declares that the security of the state depends upon its power.

The Fascist Government of Italy is working for the greater Italy of to-morrow, and thus it is trying to rouse the younger generation of the nation in every possible way. It has a regular Facist Militia, numbering several hundred thousands and their number is annually augmented by the initiation of new ones. They have the organisation of Fascist youths below the age of eighteen. They are called the "Advanced Guard" (*Avanguardisti*). Then the children are enrolled as Ballila, which may correspond to Boy Scouts and Girl Guides. This year when the ninth anniversary of the foundation of Fascist was celebrated 80,000 Fascist youths of 18 were promoted from the rank of Advanced Guard to regular Fascist Militiamen; and 222,000 boys were promoted from the Ballila class to the Advanced Guard. As things are going on to-day, if the Fascist regime lasts for another ten years, then practically all the able-bodied men in Italy will be trained in national defence and the younger generation—men and women—will be inculcated in the spirit of Fascist which invites all the members of the society to arm for its own preservation.

In the field of national defence and national power, Fascist has done its share so splendidly that the British authorities are deeply impressed with it. While I was in Italy responsible British officials came to Rome to get an idea of Italy's Air Power. It is said that Italy has more than one thousand well-equipped military and naval planes. Italy to-day holds the world's speed record in naval plane. It is an Italian machine entirely manned by Italian crew, under the leadership of General Nobile, that is now carrying on Arctic exploration. The Italians take great pride in their achievement in aviation. During the month of February 1928 a subscription of over nine million liras was raised to build more military aeroplanes. The condition of the reorganised Italian Army and Navy is splendid; and they will be able to give a good account of themselves in case of necessity.

The Fascist Government is determined to raise the standard of national efficiency through educational reforms of far-reaching consequence. It is doing its best to encourage agriculture in Italy; and for that purpose, agricultural exhibitions are being held in every part of the country. Tremendous activity is going on in Italy to develop water-power and other industrial projects of great significance. Only the other day the largest hydro-electric plant of Italy was completed at Ponale (Province of Trent) near the northern end of Lake Garda. "It has a maximum productive capacity of 100,000 h. p..... The power developed by the plant will be carried by high-tension cables to Verona, Mantua, Modena and Bologna. It is estimated that in this way Italian industries will save 250,000 tons of coal a year." During my travels through South Tyrol, I found thousands of workmen engaged in developing water-power near Bolzano (formerly Bozen). It is expected that within six months the railroads in Italian Tyrol—especially from the Morean to the Austrian frontier of the Brenner Pass—will be electrified.

Italy is moving fast and the Fascist regime is doing its share for the consolidation of the people as Italians. One of

the greatest internal as well as international problems for Italy to solve is the relation of the Vatican with the Italian State. The Fascist regime has done all that is possible to aid the Catholic Church by giving it full recognition in the religious life of the Italian people. But at the same time, Signor Mussolini is determined to prevent Church or religion from meddling in the affairs of the State. This became evident when the Pope recently expressed his disapproval of the Catholic Party offering equal homage to the King and the Pope. Signor Mussolini answered the Pope, with a simple and straightforward order of the dissolution of the Boy Scout Movement of the Catholic Church, and emphasised that the State will not tolerate any meddling of the Church in matters of education of the children.

Italy under Fascism is a great experiment. It is a challenge to the ideal of Democracy, as Communism is a challenge to the Capitalistic order. There is a great deal in common between Fascist Italy and Communism so far as the idea of dictatorship is concerned; but Fascism is opposed to Class struggle and preaches the doctrine of united National State led by the wisest and the best of all professions. Fascism is not to be brushed aside as a reactionary doctrine; but its challenge should be seriously studied by the Indian nationalists. If Indian Nationalists are not to be led by mere "catch-words" and dogmatism of a certain kind, and if they are willing to accept all that is best in any country and system of thought, they should study new Italy under Fascism, and adopt those policies which may lead to the establishment of a Free and United India, under the guidance of the wisest and the best.

TARAKNATH DAS

SPECIAL CONVOCATION •

VICE-CHANCELLOR'S ADDRESS ¹

This is not the Annual Convocation of the University and it is therefore neither the time nor the place to pass in review the chief events of the academic year, to place on record our sense of the losses occasioned by departure or by death, to welcome accessions to our strength, or to note expansion in organisation, output in authorship or successes in research. Neither is it the time to throw out any suggestion as to what ought to be the future policy of the University in relation to the clamant needs which have arisen through natural processes of growth, through particular difficulties in the present or adaptation to the changing conditions of the near future. These topics must be reserved for our Annual Convocation when we hope that the general situation will have become clearer than it is to-day.

But I do not think that this Convocation, in spite of its special character, should be allowed to pass without a tribute to the Vice-Chancellor who has so recently laid down his office. We recognise with appreciation the zeal and earnestness with which he strove to realise his ideals for the University and the sacrifices which he so readily made both of his strength and of his time—that time which I have no doubt he would in other circumstances have delighted to devote to the historical researches which have won him renown.

As the beginning of my occupation of this office in the University is of such recent date, perhaps I may be allowed to express my gratitude to the many friends who have welcomed

¹ Delivered by Professor W. S. Urquhart, M.A., D.Litt., Vice-Chancellor, Calcutta University, on Saturday, the 18th August, 1928.

me both by speech and by letter, and to assure them that any delay in acknowledging their kindness is due to the surprisingly large number of congratulations rather than to any lack of appreciation of good wishes and promises of co-operation.

But although this is not the chief Convocation of the year, although the ceremonial is somewhat truncated, and our gathering is not graced by the presence of His Excellency the Chancellor, it is for you, the latest graduates of the University, a day of days; and it would ill become us to minimise the importance of the occasion for you and indeed for all who are associated with you. You have brought to a successful conclusion one period of your lives. You are setting out upon a great new enterprise, and the light-heartedness which is born of the sense of adventure is no doubt chastened by the thought of separation and by a not unnatural apprehensiveness regarding the experiences of a more than usually unpredictable future. But I venture to think that there is also an awakening within you of a sense of responsibility as you realise that there never was a time in the history of your country and of the British Commonwealth of Nations when intercourse between East and West was fraught with greater possibilities either for good or evil. There is still much misunderstanding—quite unnecessary misunderstanding—even between people of the utmost good-will. It will be for you to lessen this misunderstanding amongst the people of the countries to which you go. You will have greater opportunities than the travellers from the West to the East. For while they in their exceedingly rapid journeyings have very limited facilities for observation, and, notwithstanding all good intentions, are constantly liable to grievous and disastrous mistakes, you are going from the East to the West for longer periods of time and will be brought much more intimately into contact with the peoples amongst whom you are to work. You are also at the stage of life when your mind ought to be free from prejudices and preconceived opinions, and I ask you to remember that if there is anything worse than a dogmatic old man it is a dogmatic

young man, for the simple reason that the power of the latter to harm will be so much longer continued. You will undoubtedly meet difficulties, but do not create difficulties by hyper-sensitiveness. Do not carry clannishness to greater length than is warranted by the natural gregariousness of those who inherit a common tradition and belong to the same country. Remember that there are many people ready to welcome you, many of whom are just as shy as some of you may be, and who often cover over that shyness by a stiffness of manner which, though deplorable, is almost wholly unconscious.

You will be regarded as representatives and the future leaders of a country in which the interest of the western world is rapidly becoming both stronger and more intelligent. I can assure you of a welcome from all well-intentioned people in these western communities as you go to them strong in your resolution to uphold the dignity and honour of your race and to show what the best type of Indian students stands for. Remember that you may give as well as receive. War-weariness has left its mark upon many of the western youth. They look rather longingly for fresh idealism and you may have it in your power to contribute a new spirit of faith in life.

But also be ready to learn all that you may from the experiences of others. See every possible variety of life, provided that the variety is not in itself harmful. I think you will find that those,—if there be any—who do not welcome you, are of diminishing importance in their community, and that the more enlightened is the circle of friends you enter the warmer will be your welcome.

Do not be so impressed by differences of manner and custom as to be repelled by these differences. Deeper than the differences lies a similarity of aim in all right-thinking men and women, whether eastern and western. By the disturbance of your own customs and contact with the customs of others, you have the opportunity—denied to the untravelled—of discovering the fundamentals of character. And having discovered them

your widening experience will enable you to build upon them an edifice of beauty and of usefulness.

Do not allow yourself, as some have done, to look for the worst in other societies and cast a high light upon it. The purpose of intercourse among the nations surely ought to be, in the words of Matthew Arnold, " Disinterested endeavour to learn and propagate the best that is known and thought in the world " and this also should be your aim as travelling scholars from India.

You are seeking to continue your education in many different directions,—in law, in economics, in finance, in industry, in art. You are set free from the immediate necessity of earning your living, but you are not set free from the necessity of applying to practical life the ideas with which your education has furnished or will furnish you. I have little patience with the comparison so frequently made between education in India and in the West or with the suggestion that to a greater extent than elsewhere a degree is coveted in this country because of its market value. After a fairly long experience of India I remain quite unconvinced that the connection between education and livelihood is in the long run closer in India than in Britain. Except in a few favoured circles, it is not possible to detach the idea of education from the idea of preparation for gaining an honourable living, and it is a mere affectation to pretend anything else. Indeed, I am inclined to go further and question whether the idea of learning for learning's sake is not rather an empty idea. I am doubtful whether even the purest scholar, unless he is either spiritually or socially selfish, ever loses the longing to apply his learning. To desire truth means to desire to adapt oneself to reality, to prepare oneself for life. It seems to me therefore that it would be possible to regard *all* education as a preparation for life, to conceive of an ideal of education which will get rid of this old rivalry between the so-called higher and lower aims.

To you will be given unique opportunities of carrying forward this preparation for life. And in the midst of this preparation I would suggest that it is necessary to *live*. Do not be mere receptacles of the accumulated experiences of others. Live over again these experiences. Try to assimilate them with your soul so that you come back not, metaphorically speaking, wearing borrowed clothes which will mark you out from your countrymen, which you will either quickly discard or continue to wear with a sense of increasing isolation, but rich in experiences have become your own, part of your life, and which, because of the elasticity of life, you can adapt on your return to the changing conditions of your society. Thus only can you become the leaders and the pioneers you are expected to be. Thus only can you fulfil the hopes which are centred upon you.

In your years abroad be worthy of the homes which have sent you forth. You may come from comfortable homes or from homes where means are scanty, but in either case you are going forth at the cost of sacrifice on the part of those whom you leave behind—whether it be the sacrifice of the comforts of life or the sacrifice which is born of the pain of separation. Be worthy of it all, be worthy of your University which has conferred upon you to-day this degree and “charges you in your life and conversation to show yourself worthy of the same.” Be worthy of your Motherland both as she has been and as she hopes to be. Be worthy also of the traditions of the countries which for the next few years are to give you hospitality—I hope ungrudging hospitality—and be worthy of the Universities which are to give you the rich and varied training to which you are looking forward. If you are thus worthy, you will return to your own land, uniting in yourself elements of universal culture to hasten the time when the barriers of the nations shall be broken down in the federation of mankind.

THE FEBRUARY MOON

I was in my own room at night. A sharp knocking—and a man rushed in and asked me wildly if I had seen his missing son. I followed him, but lost all trace of him and forgot all about him in the scene before me.

It was two or three days after the full-moon. When I went out it was all dark. The trees on the road-side had increased the intensity of the darkness. Their sombre silence oppressed me. It seemed as if they had conspired against that unhappy man who must have passed beneath their branches. I left the road and came to the adjoining field.

From behind a distant hill the moon was peeping. A thin veil of white light was over the field. Every moment the light increased and the whole field lay before me covered with silver light. The presence of the moon made my heart light. All this stream of light flowed from a silver disc without diminishing its whiteness. I looked at the sky and there too the same soft light. I enjoyed the full glory without interruption. Not a living soul was there—for whom then was this light meant? I looked around and saw everything was smiling. I looked at my own rags and they appeared fresh. My ebony-coloured limbs had become milk-white. The very stones glittered like so many masses of silver. I spread my garment on the field and let all light fall on it. I stood there drinking the sweetness of the moon.

The hours glided away imperceptibly. The serene mildness of the grassy turf, the mellowsplendour of the scenery around, the profound silence of the place and the liquid mass of silver created a panorama fit for fairies and nymphs. It then struck me that perhaps my unholy intrusion delayed the arrival of those aerial beings. I respectfully withdrew from the spot casting a longing, lingering look behind.

RASHRANJAN BASU

LIFE OF THE CELEBRATED SEVAGY

CHAPTER V.

What Sevagy did before the Arrival of Sextaghan.

Having taken the cities in Cubatghan's jaguir and treasured in such a secure place the vast wealth acquired in that expedition, Sevagy wanted to possess the entire jaguir. He went on extending his conquest and everywhere the populace, even as far as the great city called great Poona, submitted to him without any resistance. He ordered the citizens to take his *Cabul* (security) and asked them to come out to receive it with festivities and presents if they did not want [47] to be ruined, for Sevagy ruined those who did not yield. Here also he ordered houses, tanks, and gardens to be built and he himself assisted in all these works. After nominating a captain in his place (to whom the people submitted and offered presents), he went on foot among the people without being recognised by any of them. Leaning on his sword, he went about taking note of everything that happened; and he jotted on the palm of his hand all important points which he might (otherwise) forget, and for this purpose he always carried an inkstand with him. Of the whole jaguir there remained only two splendid hills, one called great Punadar and the other, little Punadaf. The latter consisted of two peaks, not more than ten paces from each other and much above the clouds. Great Punadar consisted of a hill of still greater height with a tableland half a league in extent at the top and excellent water. With these advantages it was to all appearances impregnable. When Sevagy saw these two hills he felt a desire to make them like similar other sites by building fortresses thereon for the greater security of his person and countless wealth. But the two places were well garrisoned, and, as his attitude (genio) was known, having been already

manifested by the capture of Rayguer these two heights had been strengthened. Sevagy surrounded great Punadar with fifty thousand men, but it was like the ancient war of the giants capable of conquering the heaven itself. He tried all the contrivances he could, but when nothing availed and many men had been killed by stones thrown from above. Sevagy resolved to give a turn to the fight by changing steel for silver. He gave the captain a hundred thousand rupees, asking him in the first place whether he expected in his life such a sum from Cubatghan. The fort was delivered and the fight finished. Little Punadar followed the same example, for it appears that even among hills the great provides examples for the small. Sevagy gave money and dresses to the garrison of the two fortresses. Many of them remained in his service, others went away reporting the marvels heard from the people of the country they passed [49] through and Sevagy was pleased with the ease with which everybody submitted to him. Moreover, such was the good treatment he accorded to people and such the honesty with which he observed the capitulations that none looked upon him without a feeling of love and confidence. By his people he was exceedingly loved ; both in matters of reward and punishment he was so impartial that while he lived he made no exception for any person ; no merit was left unrewarded, no offence went unpunished ; and this he did with so much care and attention that he specially charged his Governors to inform him in writing of the conduct of his soldiers, mentioning in particular those who had distinguished themselves, and he would at once order their promotion, either in rank or in pay, according to their merit. He was naturally loved by all men of valour and good conduct. He often went about the highways either alone or with a few companions and conversed about himself with the wayfarers whom he usually met. He spoke very ill of himself and about other things [50] to which they responded (one way or the other) ; (in this way) he used to collect very useful information. If they spoke

ill of any measure and the complaint was reasonable, he would at once remedy it, learning on his way the affection or the hatred it caused in the people. In a short time he reached such a state that it was then regarded as a great wonder. It was reasonably regarded as a marvel that more soldiers entered than left his service while he was alive, for besides being so numerous and of such diverse castes they were the subjects of other kings and themselves not naturally very firm (in their adherence). But what surprises one most is that so many moral virtues should shine in a gentu rebel and a reputed robber. He used to invigilate the soldiers' barracks at night and learn, from what he overheard, the proceedings of his ministers whom he gave high salaries that they might have no excuse for excesses. But they knew that he kept himself informed in every manner. If however, anybody committed an offence, he was punished with surprising promptitude: the hours or the days that intervened [51] between the punishment and the commission of the offence could be in a way calculated according to the distance at which Sevagy was. He used to say, no sovereign who rules should excuse excesses, much less those of his grandees, for such an oversight when rightly construed must be regarded as a consent whereby the Kings participate in the crimes of their subjects. When he punishes them he not merely renders justice but avoids evils, which are ordinarily much greater than those he might overlook; and above all, it makes all contented, for when justice is administered equally to all without partiality, it does not cause discontent. With such a procedure of justice, without consulting any jurist, he made his subjects ever happy and his fame rose to such a height that throughout Hindustan it became as dreaded as it was cherished. The fortresses of the two Punadars captured, he made himself master of extensive territories and all immediately hurried with the richest gifts and presents to do obedience to him and take his *Cabul*. He posted his Governors in these provinces; the fortresses were maintained out

of the land revenue, specially, [52] the Aduanas (they are dry ports or barren plots of land) yielded him huge sums whereby his treasures were augmented everyday. And when everybody thought that he would make his residence in these extensive and beautiful parts, Sevagy stationed garrisons where he thought necessary and appointed a Governor whom he invested with a splendid revenue that he might shine in majesty making people think that he was Sevagy himself (—this was his ordinary method, but it was executed with a cunning that was unique in the world). He himself left for the district of Sulapoor where by force and cunning he took possession of twelve great and good fortresses. This was in the year 1660, the tenth quarter of his conquest, and he was 29 years of age and possessed sixty-four fortresses with all the lands under their jurisdiction that formed a vast estate. He had 40 fortresses in the Kingdom of Visapur and 24 in that of the Great Mogol. Here was Sevagy, when in October at the end of the winter, the army of Sextaghan arrived at Guner (in those parts) and was quartered there, while [53] Cubatghan took account of his vassals for not resisting Sevagy and submitting to him in such a hurry. At the sight of this army Sevagy's men immediately dispersed (for such was the order that Sevagy had left, as he did not like to engage with such a powerful army in the open field) and retired where their master was.

The Mogol army refreshed itself from the strain of such a long march till the middle of November while Cubatghan effected the cold remedies he found necessary to build afresh the great treasure of which Sevagy had robbed him.

CHAPTER VI.

*What happened between Sextaghan and Sevagy.**

The Mogol army moved towards the country conquered by Sevagy. They marched with remarkable vigilance, in constant

fear of Sevagy's wiles. Sextaghan contented himself with waiting for the fitting up of one tent only, because the practice of fitting up another was not observed here. No one else was stationed in the vanguard, he himself marched in the van and everything went all right and with so much order that it amply illustrated the opinion he had of his adversary. But in spite of all these precautions, he said or planned nothing that Sevagy did not immediately learn. Sevagy knew how to make new friends with money, and, like his wealth, his friends were innumerable, and they sent him information every hour. He was at great Punadar, but Sextaghan had not marched one league when he saw ten thousand horse of Sevagy, arrayed in four divisions assault his army on all sides. The Mogol army also marched in separate detachments to make room for the numerous baggage, women and beasts, of which the camp was composed. For this reason none left their place, for each company guarded what belonged to it. The Mogols were in this suspense and difficulty when the troops of Sevagy inflicted a heavy loss upon them with dexterous expedition. They [55] assaulted one division and retired, but in the same manoeuvre fell upon another. The Mogols could not divine wherefrom they came, for it appeared as if Sevagy were everywhere; the confusion in the army became in this manner very great. By these onslaughts Sevagy used to take plenty of spoils besides killing many men, and as his appearance and disappearance were effected in an instant, every foot of the thicket made Sextaghan halt, for each presented some unusual aspect, without examining which he would not move.

At the place where the Mogol army was to encamp (as we have said, this is decided by the place having a good water-supply), appeared eight thousand horse commanded by Neotagy, Sevagy's uncle and contriver of ambushes. Besides the eight thousand horse Neotagy had posted two thousand on two sides of the road which the Mogol army had to take, but they were placed in such thick forests that this reserve caused no suspicion.

When the Mogol army saw these eight thousand horse in the place where it was found necessary to encamp, the vanguard halted, and hardly had word passed as to what should be done, when they (the Sevagies) charged with passionate fury in order to sweep the Mogols under their horses, and the field was filled with shouts and uproars and the soldiers were so confused that they fell upon one another with tumult and fury. When the Mogols imagined that they had caught them, the Sevagies divided themselves into four parties and fled each in a particular direction. In such a manner could they steal a manoeuvre that the Mogols were stupefied and, stumbling upon one another, they could not reach those they sought. After a few manoeuvres at a great distance the Sevagies turned to unite, in order that the Mogols should pursue them under the impression that they constituted the whole force (of Sevagy); for once afar, they would not be able to succour the baggage for which the two thousand hidden horse had been destined. This plan was nicely executed; for Sextaghan pursued them, thinking that was the whole army of Sevagy, which he wanted to destroy that very day. And when it seemed that the proper time had arrived, out came the two thousand and assaulted [57] the immense baggage, which was immediately invested to the great confusion of all.

The circumstances that largely contributed to this confusion were that the baggage was invested on both sides and that the sun had already gone down. The loss was very great. They (the Maratas) took thousands of loaded camels, many elephants, innumerable horses and everything that they could, killing all whom they met, while the other thousand removed the spoils. What they could not take was left on the ground, but they removed the beasts of burden. And in these, more than in anything else, the army suffered the greatest loss. The frustrated army then retired, as Neotagy had conveniently vanished in a moment. But when they arrived at the former place and saw the destruction the

Maratas had wrought, they could not hold their surprise and sorrow. That night they went without food in the inclement weather, for the servants did not appear and most of the tents had now passed into Sevagy's possession. Moreover, they passed (the night) with arms in hand, for the very leaves that moved seemed to them to be Sevagy's men. Their conversation consisted of nothing but the bad omen [58] of such a bad beginning. They did not know how to speak too highly of the tricks of Sevagy, for this mode of pillage, said they, were unknown to them, and they concluded by saying that Sextaghan will put an end to this method. Soon the most pitiable sight presented itself: the camel drivers and other servants who had fled or escaped began to arrive, and all in the army uttered shouts of surprise, for some of them came without their arms, others crippled, others with head uncovered and all without their charge, which was the most important thing. That night, Sextaghan slept in a very small tent, for he had to go without his accustomed pomp; with the usual arrogance of a Mogol, he blasphemed and swore that Sevagy would have to pay for all these with interest, but in spite of so much arrogance he had to experience to his cost Sevagy's stratagem and cunning now and afterwards.

On the following longed-for morning Sextaghan sent thirty-thousand horse to traverse the whole field and gather the wrecks of the previous night. Both men and beasts excited pity and all were led [59] to the main army which through fear they had been prevented from joining the previous night. The day was spent in searching the field, healing the wounded and burying the dead, among whom was not found a single one of Sevagy's men,—they were better acquainted with the night when they delivered so many and so repeated assaults that offered Sextaghan much cause to fear. The army then set out for Puna in the field of which city, as we have already said, Sevagy had built a palace, and tanks and gardens. In the same palace, Sextaghan took up his residence, for everything

was found as it was when Sevagy lived there. Another stratagem that Sevagy always had recourse to, and from which he derived no small gain, was based on the knowledge he had of the most secret entries and exits of the house, fashioned purposely for this enterprise, and things happened afterwards quite in accordance with the plans already made. All the districts of this province asked for Sevagy's counsel as to what they should do under the circumstances. If he wanted them to defend themselves against the Mogols, they were ready, if not, they would wait upon his specific orders. He replied that all should take the *cabul* [60] of Sextaghan until he ordered otherwise. So they did and remained secure from both sides. Here in this district, there is a large estate with an extensive jurisdiction, the lord of which is a Bracmane Gentio, truly worthy of being mentioned here. This estate and jurisdiction of his were so privileged for Mouros Gentios and all (other) castes that though there were many wars no soldier entered it except in peace. This is why this settlement became the General Hospital of India. Whoever came there, whatever he might be, found food and shelter with liberty to stay as long as he liked, for this Bracmane said that there were some to whom God gives wealth to share with others. And he behaves as if his great revenue belonged all to the poor. And as this virtue and liberality are not now common to men, there are none in Indostan who do not revere this Bracmane on this account; the armies that pass by this way, and they are not few, have for him the same respect as if he were the only man in the world. And as there are in these parts castes who do not eat anything unless it is cooked and prepared by one of the same caste, he has cooks of all castes so that no one may excuse himself on this account, for he gives to each man what has been dressed by a person of his own caste. Moreover, he has got spies to prevent anybody from evading his hospitality. The first time Sevagy passed through this place, the Bracmane sent to his kitchen all that

was necessary for ministering to the grandeur of his table, as Sevagy did not like to go to his house. As he did not excuse others, the Bracmane sent a message with those things, saying that he should slight nothing, for all men are poor and receive in this fashion what pertains to him, for God gave him his property to share with all. The name of the Bracmane was Ramagy, and God wanted to enlighten him with His pity so that so many deeds of charity might not be lost. Let us now turn to our subject. The general Sextaghan was receiving throughout that region people who submitted to him and granting pardon to those who returned to the allegiance of their sovereign. And it seemed to him that he had [62] finished Sevagy thereby, but experience proved the contrary. Sevagy sent from Punadar several parties of his men, whose sudden and short attacks always caused loss of horses, camels and oxen and many casualties, and even Sextaghan was surprised that Sevagy never suffered any loss; and this was due to the execution of the order, that they should never (permit themselves to) be caught but should do what they could without risk and, having done so, should immediately leave with all the booty, for Sevagy said that he prized the lives of his soldiers above all the interests of the world. They delivered an assault, robbed and killed whom they met, and by the time the Mogols were mounted, not a single enemy could be seen, and they stood stupefied listening only to the complaints of the wounded, robbed and despoiled.

Sextaghan tried to besiege great Punadar where Sevagy had retired, but there was such a slaughter and the besieged treated the Mogols with such derision that Sextaghan was convinced of the error [63] he had committed and at once retired to the very lodging he had left, contenting himself, as he passed through the country, with the destruction of some places that did not like to renounce their obedience to Sevagy at any cost; but he (Sextaghan) did not return from these enterprises as (gloriously) as he had set out, for he could not even

distract Sevagy who had taken from the Mogol army double of what they had robbed in these places, for these places had all the necessaries of life and the army of Sevagy always executed his orders well. Sextaghan informed the great Mogol of everything. He (the great Mogol) found that one year had passed and his army had fruitlessly suffered great loss in these parts, and he tried to strengthen his uncle with fresh reinforcement which he sent with the utmost expedition.

SURENDRANATH SEN

W. B. YEATS

VII

SYMBOLISM.

The extravagant spirit we have noticed in *Merval*, Villiers-de-L'Isle Adam, Verlaine and Baudelaire found sustenance in the widespread deep discontent with the social and moral order of their day. Conditions favourable to Symbolism; its justification and uses. In politics anarchy and nihilism, in the social order the dreams of socialists and communists, in philosophy the fascinating pessimism¹ of Schopenhauer and in literature a revolt against romanticism were the signs of the times. The hard, clear-cut, lucid scientific spirit of Taine's ideal of art criticism and the classical urbanity and cosmopolitan liberalism of Sainte-Beuve produced a sudden re-action and revolt in the Symbolists who with great gusto relished the fascinating charm of a vague and suggestive mysticism. Artists and poets rebelled against the galling yoke of the oppressive supremacy of analytical science and the positive spirit of determinist philosophy.

Symbolism was in its purest form a reaction against this deadening influence and a re-assertion in artistic form and through an aesthetic medium of the right place of metaphysical ideas in poetry. All critical controversies over this vexed question notwithstanding, the irresistible fact stands out beyond all dispute that mysticism and the symbolic interpretation of all ultimate problems of man's existence have their eternal justification and claim on our serious attention in the deep and abiding mystery of Nature which surrounds man to-day as much as it did at the dawn of civilisation. Man's is a perpetual

¹ Maeterlinck acknowledged his indebtedness to Schopenhauer "qui arrive jusqu'à vous consoler de la mort" and triumphed over his pessimism.

quest of the unseen, the unknown, the unexplored. The great French critic Brunetière rightly observes that symbolism is a profoundly human need. Professor A. N. Whitehead (none too friendly towards symbolism) in his "Symbolism : Its Meaning and Effect" (1927), is compelled to admit that however you may endeavour to expel symbolism, it ever returns. And why? Because he too knows that "Symbolism is no mere idle fancy or corrupt degeneration ; it is inherent in the very texture of human life. Language itself is a symbolism." Even in the most modern form of Government and in the very doctrine of human equality Symbolism does appear. "Mankind," he observes, "it seems, has to find a symbol in order to express itself. Indeed 'expression' is 'symbolism.'""****" The function of the symbolic elements in life," he argues, "is to be definite, manageable, reproducible, *and also to be charged with their own emotional efficacy* : symbolic transference invests their correlative meanings with some or all of these attributes of the symbols, and thereby *lifts the meanings into an intensity of definite effectiveness*—as elements in knowledge, emotion, and purpose****. *****" In every effective symbolism there are certain aesthetic features shared in common. The meaning acquires emotion and feeling directly excited by the symbol. This is the whole basis of the art of literature, namely that emotions and feelings excited by the words should fitly intensify our emotions and feelings arising from contemplation of the meaning."*****" The same principle holds for all the more artificial sorts of human symbolism :—for example, in religious art. Music is particularly adapted for this symbolic transfer of emotions."**** "This whole question of the symbolic transfer of emotion lies at the base of any theory of the aesthetics of art."*****" Thus mankind by means of its elaborate system of symbolic transference can achieve miracles of sensitiveness to a distant environment, and to a problematic future." (Italics mine)¹.

¹ Chapter III on "Uses of Symbolism."

To what extent Yeats felt this human need mentioned by Brunetière will clearly appear from his "*Rosa Alchemica*" which bears witness to this important aspect of his artistic life.

He says, for instance, how from his Dublin ancestral house he once removed "portraits of more historical than artistic interest" and "shut out all history and activity (represented by tapestry) *untouched with beauty and peace*. When, again, he pondered on his Francesca or on the rose in the hand of the Virgin he knew *a Christian's ecstasy without his slavery to rule and custom.*"

The antique gods and goddesses in bronze gave him "a pagan's delight in various beauty." His books (Shakespeare, Milton and Dante) gave him an idea of *human passions* without their bitterness. All this he characterizes as the triumph of the imagination and, he adds, "To my mind, *for which symbolism was a necessity*, they seemed the door-keepers of my world, shutting out all that was not of *as affluent a beauty* as their own." Regarding this necessity he says once more in the poem "Upon a Dying Lady" (Section VI)—

"When her soul flies to the predestined dancing place
(*I have no speech but symbol, the pagan speech I made*
Amid the dreams of youth) let her come face to face" etc.

Symbolism seeks to reveal and embody what is elusive and impalpable to man's sense perception however acute and powerful it may be made with the modern aid of the marvellous achievements of science. (*Italics mine*).

"Symbolism," says an art-critic, 'makes physically manifest to all what is spiritually accessible only to few.' In poetry highly subtle metaphysical truths that swim into the inspired gaze of the poet as seer in exceptionally ecstatic moments of intuitive vision, vouchsafed by God to sages and prophets, become captured for common humanity and embodied in beautiful images and made sensible to the heart of

Vision vs. Science :
cf. "The Song of the
Happy Shepherd" in
'Crossways'."

appreciative readers in whom delicate sensibility to the touch of the beautiful and the sublime has not been dulled by the maddening fret and fury of worldliness. The symbolist poet has a rare delight in the concord of melodious sounds and in a haunting sense of mystery. "The long sobs of the violins of autumn wound," says Paul Verlaine
Symbolism and Mystery.
 "my heart with a monotonous langour—I remember ancient days and I weep and glide along on the wind wafting me like a dead leaf." The same note is also struck by Shelley, as we all know, in his passionate lyrical appeal to the West Wind (1819)—

" Oh! lift me as a wave, a leaf, a cloud!
 I fall upon the thorns of life! I bleed!
 A heavy weight of hours has chained and bowed
 One too like thee; tameless, and swift, and proud."

A very heated controversy took place towards the close of the last century in the *Dublin Daily Express* over this new movement and Yeats then significantly remarked that the arts will be more and more liberated and made free to lose themselves in beauty and to busy themselves with old faiths, myths and dreams.¹ To quote his very words—"I believe that all men will more and more reject the opinion that poetry is a criticism of life and be more and more convinced that it is a revelation of a hidden life." We get an important clue to his own ideal as a poet in his "Ideas of Good and Evil" (1903) where he remarks :—

"I remember that when I first began to write I desired to describe outward things as vividly as possible. Then quite suddenly I lost the desire. I did not then understand that the change was from beyond my own mind but I understand now that writers are struggling all over Europe.....against that externality which a time of scientific and political thought has

¹ Cf. "Ideas of Good and Evil."

brought into literature." This great change is described by Arthur Symons as the Symbolist Movement. It has to be admitted that Yeats was to a great extent influenced by the French Symbolists though he is unnecessarily dragged by some critics into their coterie. Let Yeats himself speak in his "Ideas of Good and Evil." (1903) — "All art that is not mere story-telling or mere portraiture is symbolic * * for it entangles in complex colours and forms a part of the *Divine Essence*."

Now, according to Mr. Clive Bell all works of art provoke a peculiar emotion which he calls aesthetic emotion by means of significant form or relations and combinations of lines and colours (in the case of visual art) and in answer to the question "What is the significance of anything as an end in itself?" he says that this is what philosophers used to call "the thing-in-itself" and now call "ultimate reality." Therefore the conclusion is that men are profoundly moved by significant form because artists can with its help express an emotion felt for reality which reveals itself through line and colour (in the case of painting). It will follow, he adds, from the acceptance of such a hypothesis that significant form is form behind which we catch a sense of ultimate reality. "When we consider anything as an end in itself, * * * we become aware of its essential reality, of the God in everything, of the universal in the particular, of the all-pervading rhythm. Call it by what name you will, the thing that I am talking about is that which lies behind the appearance of all things."

This metaphysical hypothesis of aesthetics has its application to artistic symbolism. Mr. Bell later on indicates practically such an application when he asserts (in the section on Art and History) that "this sense of reality leads men to attach greater importance to the spiritual than to the material significance of the universe.....We shall expect to find the curves of arts and spiritual fervour ascending and descending together." This inter-relationship is elaborated in the chapter on "The Christian Slope." The Pre-Raphaelite method, at

its best, Mr. Bell holds to be symbolism but his estimate is anything but high of the French Impressionists and we have seen how Yeats's symbolism is connected with Impressionism. He next shows, however, where symbolism fails (in the section on Simplification and Design) as applied to painting.

Let me now refer to a few instances of Yeats's well-known symbols occurring in his poetry.

(1) In his "Wanderings of Oisín" (1889) and in the poem "He mourns for the change, etc., and longs for the end of the World" the hound is an image of the desire of man for woman and the deer that of woman for man and the west where the sun sets is symbolic of darkness and death.

(2) In "Adam's Curse" (Poems of 1899-1905)—The moon symbolises weariness.

(3) In "Shadowy Waters" (1900) grey birds are souls of men in search of divine love.

(4) The poems in "The Wind among the Reeds" (1899) are mostly symbolical to such an extent that their inner meaning had to be explained by the poet in elaborate notes. Even his poetry of Nature now becomes highly mystical and unseen presences are always fitting through the twilight haze of mystery and sweet everlasting voices are heard everywhere in the meditative solitude of the soul.

"Water is the symbol of the vanishing of mortal beauty ; the sea of drifting indefinite bitterness of life. The curfew's cry is that of lost love and old night tells her mystery to the sad, the lonely, the insatiable."

But the universal symbol is the¹ Rose reminding us of

The Rose.

Dante's mystic rose in his *Paradiso*, Canto XIII.

His own notes in his *Early Poems and Stories* issued in May 1925, run thus :—

"I notice upon reading these poems that the quality symbolised as the Rose differs from the Intellectual Beauty of

¹ Cf. "The Secret Rose" (1897).

Shelley and of Spenser in that I have imagined it as suffering with men and not as something pursued and seen from afar."

Symbolic imagery reappears even in his latest volume of poems called *The Tower* (1928) and we are told that "the half read wisdom of daemonic images" does "suffice the ageing man as once the growing boy." He is, we further learn, satisfied with the mythological poet's comparison of the solitary soul to a swan and elaborates that symbol in "Nineteen-Nineteen."

The image of a polished mirror reflecting external realities and symbolizing man's clear intellect and reason frequently occurs in both his poetry and prose.

Symbolism is very largely used in "The Phases of the Moon," one of the pieces in "The Wild Swans at Coole" (1919), which, in my view, is not *poetically* of much value, however important it may be as a "document." It refers to the prose pieces written before 1897 in which Aherne and Robartes figure and is a half-allegorical presentation of the stages in the growth of the human soul in the form of a dialogue between Aherne and Robartes regarding Yeats himself who is represented as buried deep in his mystic studies carried on at a place selected

" Because, it may be, of the candle light
From the far tower where Milton's Platonist
Sat late, or Shelley's visionary prince ;
The lonely light that Samuel Palmer engraved
An image of mysterious wisdom won by toil ;
And now he seeks in book or manuscript
What he shall never find."

Here is a "mystic" hint.

We are told "he has found mere images"—meaning symbols of things. Then Robartes sings the changes of the moon—showing how man develops from the first crescent to the half moon through "adventure" and when the moon is rounding to the full becomes subject to a "whim most difficult among

whims not impossible" till " his body moulded from within his body grows comelier."

"The thirteenth moon but sets the soul at war
In its own being, and when that war's begun
Here is no muscle in the arm ; and after
Under the frenzy of the fourteenth moon
The soul begins to tremble into stillness
To die into the labyrinth of itself."

" For, there's no human life," we learn, "at the fall of the dark." Then follows the song on "the strange reward of all that discipline." Now,

" All thought becomes an image and the soul
Becomes a body " * *
" Too lonely for the traffic of the world :
Body and Soul cast out and cast away
Beyond the visible world."

Then the vicissitudes of life shape this body and soul till at last

" Their beauty dropped out of the loveliness
Of body and soul "

(i.e., of those that we have loved) and " the lover's *heart* knows that " (Italics mine.)

Men shudder and hurry by at the sight of these creatures of the full moon :

" Body and soul
" Estranged amid the strangeness of themselves
Caught up in contemplation, the mind's eye
Fixed upon images *that once were thought*,
For separate, perfect, and immovable
Images can break the solitude
Of lovely, satisfied, indifferent eyes."

Next follows " the crumbling of the moon " and all is changed, the soul now is the world's *servant* " choosing what-

ever *task* most difficult among tasks not impossible'' and is reduced to a drudge. For, ''before the full it sought itself but afterwards the world''—reformer, merchant, statesman, learned man, dutiful husband, etc., are the parts, all deformed because all deformity saves us from a dream. Then follows an account of those set free by the last servile crescent—they are cast beyond the verge, desireless, incapable of distinguishing good from bad, ''deformed beyond deformity'' being unformed like the dough not yet baked, changing their bodies at a word. Next follows a series of rebirths. The last crescents are, we are finally told, ''the hunchback and saint and fool.'' (*Italics throughout mine.*) We have here the old mystic story of the fool, the blind, the decrepit and aged being really the wisest. We have in this series (towards the end) four poems significantly entitled ''The Saint and the Hunchback,'' ''Two Songs of a Fool,'' ''Another Song of a Fool'' and ''The Double Vision of Michael Robartes.''

In his prose pieces in ''The Celtic Twilight'' there are references to many symbols.

For instance, we are told that ''a globe of iridescent crystal'' is a symbol of the soul. In ''Rosa Alchemica'' the crimson colour is represented as typifying a passionate life. Other symbolic colours are referred to in connection with the leather-bindings of the books in his Dublin house—''Shakespeare in the orange glory of the world, Dante in the dull red of his anger, Milton in the blue grey of his formal calm.'' The grey colour of the angels is explained as due to their ''love for a God of humility and sorrow.''

In the ''Adoration of the Magi'' the symbol of the unicorn represents what is ''cold, hard and virginal'' and it is ''born dancing'' and vanishes quickly because it ''understands the shortness of life.'' It is born to a young woman (in Paris) who is selected as their chosen vessel by the Immortals who would ''overthrow the things that are to-day and bring the things that were yesterday'' because she is ''one whom the

things that are to-day have cast out" and "in whose body all desires have awaked;"—"this woman who has been driven out of Time and has lain upon the bosom of Eternity." While this dying woman's spirit was going out of her body she murmured a name—"the name of a symbolist painter she was fond of, who taught her to see visions and to hear voices."

The symbol of apes devouring with insatiable hunger green and crimson stones (in "The Eaters of Precious Stones") represents "the Hell of the artist" for "all who sought after beautiful and wonderful things with too avid a thirst" (as did Shelley and Keats, we remember), "lost peace and form and became shapeless and common." Another suggestive symbol in the same piece is that of demons of all shapes sitting about a black pit (like the artist's Hell which was Yeats's Hell too) and "looking at the moon-like reflection of the Heavens which shone up from the depths of the pit."

There are many hints to be found in his prose writings such as the essays in "Celtic Twilight" on "Helen's Eye," "A Voice," "The Untiring Ones," "The Queen and the Fool" and "The Old Town."

His belief in things occult is clearly indicated by "Earth, Fire and Water."

In the "Coming of Wisdom with Time" we read "Though leaves are many, the root is one" presenting Indian monistic thought *symbolically* and in the piece "Concerning the nearness of Heaven, Earth and Purgatory" we have the very significant remark—

"In Ireland this world and the world we go to after death are not far apart * * * Indeed, there are times when the worlds are so near together that it seems as if our earthly chattels were no more than the shadows of things beyond." Elsewhere ("The Queen and the Fool") he says "what else can death be but the beginning of wisdom, power and beauty." * * *

But the best illustration of his *symbolic method* is in the symbolic drama of the "Shadowy Waters,"
 Symbolic mode. which stands for the quest of the ideal of divine love. A romantic charm of delicate imaginings full of colour and the delicious drowsiness of autumnal beauty spreads over the whole piece as a fleecy cloud floating over the blue heavens. It is mystic through and through, and tries to convince us that the world of dreams is the real world and that of sense-perception a mere make-believe—a shadow show of mere reflected image of Reality on the mirror of worldly knowledge.

Forgael yearns for the dreams of love but his disciple Aibric is too practical to yield to idealism. Inspiration comes to the master from the fairy lovers Ængus and Edain and he has a glorious vision of the perfect bliss to be. Mysterious creatures appear who possess wisdom and marvellous is the power of Forgael's magic harp having "druid spell" in it. He puts love into the queen's heart for Iollan who after all is his *alter ego* (and he finally reveals this identity). Crying birds in their flight over the sea to the West symbolically beckon Forgael and Dectora (the queen), exactly as in "Prometheus Unbound" spirit voices invite Asia to "follow, follow," to a country at the world's end full of unimaginable happiness that knows no end. Forgael's frenzy is bred in him by the eternal gods called here "the immortal mockers of men, the shape-changers, the Laughing Ones" and he is resolved to go to the end. Finally, Dectora's firm fidelity to remain at all costs with Forgael brings the reward of true faith—the divine joy of being alone with her beloved for ever and for ever till through pure love, staunch in life as in death, they both grow immortal and the world drifts away from them into nothingness.

"The Hour Glass" (in verse, first performance, 1912) is another mystic-symbolic drama of which the importance is great for readers of Yeats. Here "the Fool" is shown to be really wiser than "the Wise Man" whose salvation is brought about by his conversion into that Faith in the unseen or supersensuous

which he had killed in his pupils, his wife and children and generally his countrymen, by his philosophical scepticism, negation of faith, dependence on Reason and the senses. Emphasis is laid on dreams, trance, feeling (as opposed to seeing or arguing). Finally, the Wise Man's conversion leads him to assert that "there is a spiritual kingdom that cannot be seen or known till the faculties whereby we master the kingdom of this world wither away like green things in winter." This distrust of the Intellect as a will o' the wisp suggests, of course, the mystic's way. "New sight" comes to this so-called wise man "through a crisis of the spirit" when an angel visits him with a message. Man's pessimism is explained as due to the frequent sight of

"Parting, sickness, and death

The rotting of the grass, tempest, and drouth."

Perfect surrender to God's will through untroubled Faith solves the mystery and ensures salvation.

(To be continued.)

JAYGOPAL BANERJEE

Reviews

Kramrisch : Visnudharmottaram—A Review relating to Painting and Sculpture in the Scheme of Education in Ancient India.

The Vedic lore, with its *Anga* and *Upāṅga* branches, was a preserved monopoly for the twice-born, who, however, formed only a small minority of the entire population of Ancient India. The need, therefore, for another medium,—less exclusive, more popular, and better suited to the necessity and capacity of all—appears to have been felt as real need from the very outset, giving rise to the growth of a vigorous literature in non-obsolete Sanskrit, capable of imparting knowledge in all matters connected with the spiritual and temporal concerns of life.

This came to be called, by way of contrast, *Sārva-varṇikam*, open to all castes alike. In the solicitude with which this was introduced and encouraged, may be found the real clue to the true character of Indian Culture, uncontaminated by any trace of meaningless bigotry and aggrandisement of classes at the sacrifice of any real interest of the masses.

As most people were without any knowledge of the art of reading and writing, this general scheme was further expanded to include devices for imparting popular education without the need of any artificial literary medium by provisions of theatrical representations on the stage, of pictorial displays of painting and sculpture, from the cottage to the palace, and from the humble cell of the hermit to the most ostentatious temples ever built by the piety and liberality of Man, and also of recitations of books specially selected for the purpose.

The subjects, thus brought almost to the door of every one, were sometimes collectively called the Fifth Veda, to clothe them with the same dignity as was enjoyed by the Vedas proper. *Bharata*, in the *Nāṭya-Sāstram* ascribed to him, noted that *Brahmā* was induced to create the Fifth Veda at the request of the Devas. That the purpose of painting and sculpture, as well as of recitation, was the same, appears incidentally noted repeatedly in Sanskrit literature, general or special. Recitation, originally limited to texts composed in Sanskrit, came gradually to be extended to compositions in all the vernaculars of the provinces, in which form they may still be noticed to exist.

The original etiquette regarding these recitations required adoration of *Nārāyaṇa*, *Nara*, *Narottama*, and *Devi Sarasvatī* before the recitation

commenced. The name of *Vyāsa* came also to be added to the list. This direction appears in the beginning of all works authoritatively selected for recitation. They were collectively called by a common name *Jaya* (literally victory); but the technical sense in which it was used in this connection, may be found noted in this class of literature, and is well known to the orthodox Hindu.

Occidental scholars did not notice the significance of this scheme of popular education. One of them, Pargiter, in his translation of the *Mārkaṇḍeya-Purāṇam*, took the word *Jaya* only in its literary sense as equivalent to 'victory.' The *Bhaviṣya Purāṇam*, accepted by him as an old authority, says, that the sages called some writings by the name of *Jaya*, namely (i) the Eighteen Purāṇas, (ii) the *Rāmāyaṇa*, described as *Charitam* of Rāma, (iii) Śāstras commencing with the *Viṣṇu-dharma*, (iv) *Sivadharmā*, (v) *Sauradharmā* and *Mānavadharmā*, (vi) the whole of the Fifth Veda known by the name of the *Mahābhāratam*.¹ The list shows that all the *Mahā-purāṇas*, eighteen in number (including the *Viṣṇu*), were selected as works of the *Jaya class*, and so were some of the *Upa-Purāṇas* which contained works with the name of *dharma* attached to them, such as *Viṣṇudharma*, *Siva-dharma*, *Sauradharmā*, and *Mānavadharmā*. This makes the *Viṣṇu Purāṇam* and the *Viṣṇudharma* two different works, separately selected as a *Jaya-book* for the purpose of recitation.

Whatever might have been the reason, the *Viṣṇudharma* came to be popularly regarded as the Appendix to the *Viṣṇu Purāṇam*, and this appeared in the colophon of many manuscripts which have come down to us. The *Viṣṇudharmottaram* is again regarded by some to be the same as the *Viṣṇudharma* itself, although many compilations show quotations with both names noted separately.

१ अष्टादशपुराणाणि रामस्य चरितं तथा ।

विष्णुधर्मौदितं शास्त्राणि शिवधर्मौदितं भारत ॥

कार्येषु पञ्चमी वेदी यन्महाभारतं श्रुतं ।

सौराष्ट्र धर्मराजेन्द्र । मानवोक्ता महीपते ॥

अयति नाम एतेषां प्रवदन्ति मनीषिणः ॥

According to this the technical name *Jaya* indicated selected books of different classes including eighteen Purāṇas, one biography, several śāstras such as the *Viṣṇudharma* and others and the whole of the fifth Veda popularly called the *Mahābhāratam*. The *Viṣṇupurāṇam*, according to this, appertained to the class called *purāṇam*, while the *Viṣṇudharma* appertained to the class called Śāstras, and the *Rāmāyaṇa* belonged to the class called *charitam* or biography.

The *Uttaram* indicates, according to the context, a subsequent part of the same work ; and although in this sense the *Viṣṇudharmottaram* may be regarded to be the same as the *Viṣṇudharma* itself, yet history may find here reason to halt, and try to discover if this does not indicate a time later than that of *Viṣṇudharma*.

In the *Viṣṇudharmottarām*, which has been sought to be brought to the notice of the Indologists by Dr. Stella Kramrisch, in her work under review, she accepted the popular version that it was an appendix to the *Viṣṇupurāṇam*, and refrained from making observation on the various considerations which are connected with this matter. A separate enumeration of the *Mānava*, *Saura*, *Śiva* and *Viṣṇudharmas* over and above the names of the eighteen Mahāpurāṇas go clearly to point to a reason for the same ; and the reason obviously lies in the existence of a branch of knowledge under the name of *Dharma*, distinguishable from another of the name of *Purāṇas*. In both, however, we have yet to hear the last word about their origin.

The origin of the *Viṣṇudharmottaram* has now come to be shrouded in the same mystery which has gathered round the origin of many matters of Ancient India, in which the substance received its written garb long after it had become well-known by centuries of oral transmission. The incidental mention in the *Bhaviṣya Purāṇam* that the *Viṣṇudharma* used to be called a *Jaya* work by the learned, shows clearly that its origin has to be sought for in an age prior to that of the *Bhaviṣya Purāṇam*.¹ Many matters dealt with in the *Viṣṇudharma*, or for the matter of that, in the *Viṣṇudharmottaram*, may be found adequately dealt with almost in the same way in writings of prior ages. The anatomical proportions of the human body with all their details are not only to be found in the books on medicine, but may also be found noted incidentally in purely Vedic literature.² Many technical terms, indicative of well established rules or canons, may be traced in oldest Sanskrit literature as analysed in the *Vyākaraṇam* of Pāṇini. The actual age when the *Viṣṇudharmottaram* came to be compiled and reduced into writing has been taken by Dr. Stella Kramrisch to be synchronous with the 7th century of the Christian era—a view which may not, therefore, be found convincing. The first portion of the work contains several names of kings of different provinces of India, presumably as contemporary rulers, in a way to suggest that the compilation was made during their age. This has not been noticed by

¹ Dynasties of the Kali Age, Pargiter, p. xiii, note.

² Vedic Index (Macdonell and Keith), Vol. II, pp. 358-362, may be consulted with profit.

her, nor any attempt made to discuss its bearing on the question. These names of kings and kingdoms are *Paurāṇik*, and not yet connected with accounts of available history.

The real importance of the *Viṣṇudharmottaram* does not, however, lie so much in any accurate determination of its actual date, as in the various informations contained in it about the main features of Indian art. The publication of an essay on the subject, though somewhat misleading on account of the title given to it, must be welcomed as a desirable one. Strict discipline should, however, require in a University publication absolute correctness even to the minutest details of texts and translations. Not mastering Sanskrit language, and having a limited knowledge of the ancient lore through writings which for want of better names are called translations, Dr. Kramrisch made her work bristle with insurmountable difficulties.

Dr. Stella Kramrisch, in her solicitude to support her opinion that the *Viṣṇudharmottaram* as it has come down to us, was first reduced into writing in the 7th century of the Christian era, went beyond her depth to discover a valuable clue in the enumerations of Rasas, noticeable in literature relating to dramatic performances and pictorial art. In the dramatic performances the last Rasa or the *sānta* was not intended for separate representation as it was not possible to do so, because it was the result of faithful representation of the other Rasas. Hence Bharata said quite distinctly that "in dramatic literature" the number of Rasas should be taken as eight. This means that although the number is really nine, it is for all practical purposes eight in dramatic performances. Without taking this into consideration she compares 8 with 9 Rasas, and finding 9 Rasas in the pictorial art, concludes from the same that an additional Rasa came to be introduced in a subsequent age. There is no proof to support this view nor any reason to hold that the number of Rasas was originally only eight which was subsequently increased by the addition of one more Rasa when pictorial art came to be properly developed. As instances of this sort go to the root of conclusions on which historical facts are sought to be supported, one should not pass instances of this nature as trivial or unworthy of criticism.

The portion of the work that purports to be a translation of the original, definitely indicated by the mention of chapter and verse, will be found to give only a superficial idea in many cases. The difficulty attached to correct translation must account for the nature of the achievements of her collaborator Rakhahari Chatterjee who helped her in the matter. A few instances may be pointed out to show how the performance fell short of actual requirements.

In connection with what purports to give us the translation of the verses 1-18 of chapter 35, we find that "in the middle of the entire length of the figure is the penis." As the limb in question is a pendant of some length, it is difficult to find from this what point in it would indicate the middle of the length of the whole human body, from head to foot. This vagueness arises obviously from a faulty text, due to fault of the scribe, passed uncorrected by the editors of the printed edition, in which the word occurs as *Medhram* instead of as *Medhramtaram*. The right word occurs in the *Brihat Samhitā* (chapter 57, v. 16) where the commentator *Bhattotpala* explained it to indicate the middle of the total length of the *Medhram*, by the epithet *Linga-madhyam*. The mistake here was of the scribe's; the translator's share lay in this indis-crimination in accepting as correct a text that was obviously wrong.

In chapter 37, verses 1-17, the printed text has the following:—"Chāpā-kāram bhaben-netram yogabhūminirikshanāt"—which has been rendered into English as follows:—"the eye assumes the shape of a bow when looking at the ground with meditation." Waddel noticed in the images of the Buddhas and Bodhisattvas of Tibet, this peculiarity of the eye, which he ascribed to a "dreamy look." This feature was, by no means, a local trait of Tibetan art, but was in vogue in India also, and an examination of the upper eyelids would show that they bulge out a little in the middle calling to mind the bulging out of the middle point of a bow where it is held by the grip of the bowman. It is this *Akṛa* or shape of a particular portion of the *Chāpa* (bow) which was indicated, and the reason of it by the assertion that this was due to the looking on the *Yogabhūmi*. The word *Bhūmi* literally means ground; but it was used in other senses also, such as may be found in the word *Dasabhūmi*. Here *Yogabhūmi* appears to have been used in a technical sense, on which an ascetic should concentrate his external eyesight to achieve firmness of inward vision.

In the first chapter, styled as, *KATHAPRASTAVANA*, at the beginning of the first part of the *Viṣṇudharmottaram*, we have a story, with an enumeration of the names of many kings, that king *VAJRA*, solicited by the contemporary rulers of all parts of India, including the Deccan (*Dravida*), approached the sage *Mārkaṇḍeya*, who narrated the subject-matter of the *Viṣṇudharmottaram* before the assembly of the kings. The text places this event in the *Kali-age* without disclosing any material to determine its historical bearing, suggesting thereby a prehistoric time. As this work, the *Viṣṇudharma*, is included in the list of the *Jaya* works and mentioned as such in the *Bhaviṣya Purāṇam* assigned by *Pargiter* to the earlier epochs of the Christian era, internal evidence cannot justify

the adoption of the 7th century as the time of its composition or compilation. But this internal evidence, supplied by the *Bhaviṣya Purāṇam* and also by the *Viṣṇudharmottaram* itself, has not been noted or noticed in this connection.

In chapter 42, verses 1-84, occurs a word SAMVATSARA along with the word *Purohita*, both being jointly mentioned in the dual number as *Sāmvatsara-Purohitau*. In the translation the word *Sāmvatsara* has been called *Śiva*, without any reason for this assertion. The mention of the two together in the dual number shows "Office," presumably allied somewhat necessarily with one another. The word occurs in the *Brihat Samhitā* of Varāha-Mihira:—In chapter 52, verse 1, in an epithet VIGAGDHA SAMVATSARA PRITYAU, the word *Sāmvatsara*, as one of the components was interpreted by the annotator Bhattotpala by the word DAIVAJNA (fortune-teller or calculator of auspicious matter). It occurs in the same work in the same chapter in verse 96 as "KALE SAMVATSARODDISTE," where the component *Sāmvatsara* was interpreted by the same commentator by the same word DAIVAJNA used in the same sense. This word in the technical sense occurs pretty frequently in Sanskrit literature and leaves no room for any doubt or uncertainty about its real meaning.¹ In another place in the *Brihatsamhitā* the word occurs in the sense noted above and is interpreted to indicate a person who is either versed in or is learning a branch of knowledge which is related to information about the year.

In spite of mis-interpretations and shortcomings of this nature, the translation of Rakhahari Chatterjee helped Dr. Kramrisch in arranging her publication. The first enterprise in this behalf has been greatly improved upon by the second one in this revised and enlarged edition. As this has drawn attention of the learned world to what may still be found in fragments of Sanskrit literature about the aims and methods of Indian art, the work has to be judged by its success in the main. India suffered, and suffered for long, in the estimation of foreign scholars on account of their inability to approach and study the subject in the right mood. Sympathy, and sympathy alone, is the first requisite in a study of this nature; but Indian art lingered long before it commenced only quite recently to receive some sympathetic attention. The publication of specimens of art alone cannot be expected to dispel the darkness with quickness. The literary

¹ The lexicon *AMARAKOŚHA* (2. 8. 14) refers to this word.

This shows clearly that the word *Sāmvatsara* should have offered no difficulty to the translator if he consulted the standard lexicon of *Amarasipha*.

information that may be gathered from books of this nature cannot be lightly ignored. In the introductory portion of this publication, the learned writer has revealed in most cases a correct and judicious appreciation of the real value of Indian art.

All pictorial matters, used in the beginning to be designated by a common name *Chitram* (literally variegated), raised a presumption that a display of suitable colours for different parts, constituting the variegation, was looked upon as an essential feature. Form alone was for giving articulation to different parts and accentuation according to their appropriate necessity. That cannot by itself constitute a complete picture; nor a display of light and shade, nor use of artificial accessories in the shape of dress and ornaments, nor even a mere pigmentation of suitable colours. It was all,—articulation and accentuation of lines,—a development of moulded appearance by devices of display of light and shade,—additional extraneous elements of beauty and grace as well as the dignity and grandeur which colour can clothe the picture with—that was deemed necessary from the earliest stage, making Indian art essentially one of lines, distinguishable from the one of mass of European art. The *Viṣṇudharmottaram* gives a clear classification of two matters—conception and execution treated as separate yet allied and inseparable elements of the same thing, giving idealism to reality and realism to ideality. The *Viṣṇudharmottaram* deals in the first place with *sūtram* and in the second place with *Kalpa*, indicating thereby that a knowledge of the *Chitra-Sūtram* is essential to that of *Chitra-Kalpa* and *vice versâ*, as indicated in chapter 42.

This division shown in the text has not been noticed in her introductory observations by the learned author but has been left to be gathered from the whole context.

Painted surfaces naturally bring in the question of painted figures in wood, stone and metal. No specimens of really ancient wooden figures have been handed down to posterity; but their casual description in the general Sanskrit literature shows that the wooden figures were mere skeletons on which pigments were applied to make them pictures. Stone and metal objects were similarly dealt with. Those ancient specimens which were usually described as gilded, were in fact painted, because the application of the paint in their case was described and treated as a sort of application of colour.

Dr. Stella Kramrisch in her Introduction points out the omission in the *Viṣṇudharmottaram* of references to any painting beyond the wall, with a casual allusion "to floors inlaid with precious jewels." This

may have a pictorial effect, but it can hardly be included in any chapter on painting. The defect was sought by her to be remedied by a reference to information about it of *Dhuli-Chitra*, powder-painting, mentioned in the *Silpa-Ratna* said to be "familiar to Bengali ladies as *Alponá*, temporary coating of powdered colours on a beautiful piece of ground." Although this subject does not appear to be unavoidably concerned with the matter discussed in the *Viṣṇudharmottaram*, yet she has done well by drawing attention of the learned world to a branch of Indian art, which, howsoever temporary in purpose or character, is an important concern in the life of the people. It may, however, be pointed out that the *Alponá* is not "a coating of powdered colour" as noted by her; but is a free-hand decorative scheme for an auspicious display of lines, scrolls, and creepers, applied with the finger-tip, dipped in semi-fluid pigment which dries up almost simultaneously with its application, and lasts for a time not very long. When under a bright sky, without a speck of cloud to make it dull, the moon shines on these paintings, usually displayed on festive occasions in the court-yard, it gives to the humble situation a rare beauty of form and purity of colour. The word *Alponá* in Bengali is a contracted form of the Sanskrit word *Alepaná* or *Alimpaná* and as such, distinguishes the subject-matter indicated by it from anything that may be said to be a product of powdered colours. *Dhuli-Chitra* of the *Silpa-Ratna* differs in this from *Alponá*, which, on account of its freehand production, cannot find a place in a treatise on painting proper in which a strict adherence to well established proportions is necessary, and not optional. *Alepaná* or *Alimpaná* occurs in Sanskrit lexicons of later days, the *Dhuli-Chitra* of the *Silpa-Ratna* is, however, still in use in the production of *Yantra-diagrams* necessary for worship. Powders of five primary colours, strewn over with care on well-proportioned lines in a definite diagram are still used to produce this class of temporary painting. They used at one time to be extended to the decoration of floors on which dishes of meals used to be laid before the guests, a reference to which may still be found in Sanskrit literature. The *Alponá* will deserve attention of the learned if it can be properly studied, described, and discussed. As it is essentially a lady's art, our learned writer has here a branch of study peculiarly her own.

As *Alimpaná* or *Alpaná*, as it is called in Bengali, does not represent a regular picture, but only an allied form of pictorial art, it had naturally no place in the scientific account to which the *Viṣṇudharmottaram* appears to have been limited. Yet the *Alimpaná* or *Alpaná* has all the look of primitiveness in its evolution. It aimed at a display of

auspicious figures and signs, consisting of *Patra* (leaves), *Vulli* (creeper), *Ghata* (pitcher), *Svastika*, *Nandyāvarta*, *Srivatsa*, and other auspicious objects, animate and inanimate, real and imaginary, which had received universal recognition from time immemorial. The plinth, the steps, the court-yard, the wooden seats, and the like, were its usual places of display, connected mostly with ceremonials—spiritual or temporal. Eastern India and the end of the autumn harvest were, and still are, favourite place and time for its universal display. The rice-cake, the long expected annual delicacy after a toilsome monsoon, requiring hard labour for the growth of paddy, added and still add to the festivities which gladden the cottages of the country. The word occurs in Sanskrit lexicons, and one of them, the *Trikāṇḍa-seṣa*, calls it *Mandodakam* (starch-liquid), revealing incidentally the material required for the purpose,—material different in composition and consistency from that which used to produce what the *Silpa-Ratna* called *Dhuli-Chitra*.

Vartanā, used evidently in a technical sense in the *Viṣṇudharmottaram*, to indicate display of light and shade, does not occur in ordinary Sanskrit lexicons. Three methods of production, though clear enough from their contexts, are beset with technical difficulties. The first is called *Patraja*, the second *Haivikā* at one place and *Hairikā* at another, and the third the *Vindujā*. The first is to be produced by lines resembling leaves, *Patrakritibhi rekhābhi*, the second is only called “very fine” *Atiba sūkṣma*, while the third is called a product of stamping, *Stamvanā-jukta*. Dr. Stella Kramrisch has assigned no reason for taking the second as *Haivikā*, appertaining to the nature of diamonds (*Hiraka*), indicating a process of production of a mass of crystalline forms technically called *Hairakā*.

The elaborate directions about fore-shortening are noted under the head of *Kshaya* and *Vridhhi* which may be more expressively called in English “Waning and Waxing,” for which purpose the flat front view, showing the entire length of the face, from the chin to the root of the hair, and its entire maximum breadth, from ear to ear, along the forehead, has to be taken as the initial one. Each waning of half the face corresponds to a proportionate waxing of the remaining half, until a complete view of the whole back alone is obtained, every position being described by a technical term.

The *Viṣṇudharmottaram* rightly concludes its lessons with the assertion that in painting the chief essential element is *Sādṛshya-karaṇam*. This word, used in a technical sense, discloses the distinction between *Drśhyam* and *Sādṛshyam*; the first, as indicative of the object, the second,

of an impression given by it. Any copy, by a mechanical process or otherwise such as photography, does not make it cease to be *Dr̥shya*, and is distinguishable from its impression, the *Sādr̥shyam*. While the one is a mere copy, the other is a creation. In this lies the secret to the mystery of all Indian art, which had to be repeatedly discussed before it can be explained or realised. The work of Dr. Stella Kramrisch will be an addition to the stock of knowledge of Indologists, unacquainted with Sanskrit, and gradually help them to a better appreciation of Oriental Art.

A. K. MAITRA

Great Britain from Adam Smith to the Present Day :—By C. R. Fray, Professor of Economic History at the University of Toronto—Demy, pp. 458 + xii. Published by Longmans Green & Co.

The book under review is divided into four parts in which the learned author gives a comprehensive survey of English fiscal policy, trade, agriculture, industry, labour and evolution of social life, practically all topics which bear on the economic history of a nation. In his learned introduction, the author gives us a clear estimate of Adam Smith and his influence on the economic thought of the nineteenth century. He notes the characteristics of Smith's epoch-making treatise and points out the defects of that book. Next, in connection with the fiscal policy of England, he gives us a clear idea of the economic principles of Walpole and Pitt and then passes on to the great services of Huskisson and Peel who resumed the 'work of fiscal reform which Pitt began and the French wars arrested.' After Peel, we have an estimate of Gladstone and this is followed by a very illuminating discussion of Chamberlain's "Imperial Spirit." The lessons of the Great War are then enumerated and the author discusses the spirit of the social legislation of the day. In the second part we have an account of the growth of British foreign trade as well as the legislation for its protection from rivals like Holland, Spain or France. We have, moreover, careful discussions of important topics like trade balance, the growth of ports and merchant shipping, the construction of roads and canals, and the extension of railways and motor transport. In the third part of the volume, agriculture and industry are dealt with in great length. The gradual progress of agriculture is described and many allied topics receive their due share of the author's

attention. In connection with the industries of England we have not only the history of the "Industrial Revolution," but the gradual development of the individual industries, together with the causes and circumstances that helped their growth. In the last part of the book, we have a careful survey of changed conditions as well as an analysis of present problems. The reaction of industrialism and the consequent social evils are clearly explained and the author gives us a summary of the most recent legislation on labour and trade-unionism. The section of "dogma and revolt" traces the growth of rival schools of economic thought and gives us a clear account of the inter-relation of schools of thought and their social ideals.

The book is very ably written and gives in a few hundred pages, a summary of the economic and industrial progress of England during the last two centuries.

The author has not only the outlook of an economic historian, but a rare insight into the problems of a great empire. His ideas are very clear and his exposition very lucid. Written in simple language, the book is bound to be of value to students and scholars alike. We recommend it heartily to all who take interest in problems of modern life, especially to the students of our Universities.

N. C. B.

Principles of Indian Śilpasāstra—By Phanindranath Bose, M.A., Prof. of Hist., Visvabhārati. Royal 8vo, pp. 90+appendices pp. 18, comprising Sanskrit texts+4 pp.; with a foreward by Dr. J. H. Cousens, D.Litt., published by the Punjab Sanskrit Book Depot, Lahore.

This volume is bound to evoke interest in the minds of those who take care to enquire into the history of Indian Art. The author who is a Professor of History in Visvabhārati, is eminently one of those who are enquiring into the glorious past of their motherland. In the first chapter of the work the author discusses the origin of silpa and in the next chapter we have an enumeration of the works on Indian art which have been published or of those which are not yet in print. The third chapter discusses the principles of Indian art and sculpture while in the fourth we find a mention of *Pratimā-lakṣaṇam*. In the fifth chapter the author enquires into the beginnings of Hindu images and his sixth chapter lays down the traditional

conventions of Indian art. In the seventh and eighth chapters, we have details about sculpture and painting while the ninth gives us an estimate of the contributions of Indian art. In the first appendix we have the text of the *Mayasūtram* and in the second extracts from the *Pratimā-lakṣaṇam*.

The book under review, though it cannot be called a comprehensive survey of Indian art, will serve as an introduction to the detailed study of that fascinating subject. Within the narrow compass of 90 pages, the author has discussed almost all important points relating to the history of art in India, as well as its meaning with the Indian artist. In all topics, he has given us his views rather briefly and soberly. In spite of this however, he seems to base his conclusions more or less on those of European writers and neglects in many cases opportunities of displaying his originality. To give one or two instances, he fails to recognise the higher antiquity of *silpa* which is clearly alluded to in connection with the mention of the sacerdotal *silpas* in some of the *Brāhmaṇas*. Similarly, no mention is made of the rudiments of *Vāstu-Vidyā* in the *Grihya* or other allied *sūtras*. Moreover, the author ought to have made his bibliography more exhaustive, by mentioning valuable works like the *Vīra-mitrodaya* (*Lakṣaṇa-prakāśa*) or the *Hayasīrsa-Pancarātram*. The language of the book is good but innumerable misprints occur.

N. C. B.

The Mānava-grhya-sūtra of the Maitrāyanī Sakhā—With the commentary of Aṣṭāvakra—Edited with an introduction by Rāmakṛṣṇa Harshajī Sāstrī and a preface by B. C. Lele, M.A., Baroda College. Gaekwad's Oriental Series. No. XXXV. 258+9+31. Royal.

This is one of the new additions to the Oriental Series instituted by the government of His Highness the Gaekwad of Baroda, and will be welcomed by all who take interest in the religion and language of the Aryans of India. The *Grhyasūtras* are invaluable, since they give us details about the rites and ceremonies relating to the domestic life of Hindus and many of these are still performed. A number of *Grhya* texts were published in Europe, and the text of the *Mānava School* was edited by Dr. Friedrich Knauer in 1897 with extracts only from the commentary of Aṣṭāvakra.

The present edition gives us the complete text of the commentary of Aṣṭāvakra, and we have two introductions, one in English and the other in Sanskrit. The Sanskrit introduction will be of benefit to indigenous scholars, but it would have been better if the English introduction would have been more exhaustive. As it is, the introduction or preface by Prof. Lele is good and scholars will mostly agree with his views relating to the composition or date of the book. His explanation as to the arrangement of the subject-matter is also reasonable. There are however inaccuracies to which we draw the attention of Mr. Lele. Thus, the selection of the bride, through the ordeal of eight lumps of clay, is regarded as something strange. This, however, is not peculiar to the Mānavas and is found in Gobhila and some other Gṛhya works. Again, there is a slip when the writer of the preface speaks of the *upanayana* of the four castes, instead of three. There is another lamentable slip and the name of Dr. F. Knauer appears as Knaner. The large number of misprints have been noted in the errata, but it would have been better if more care would have been taken to revise the proof-sheets. Anyhow the volume will be useful to scholars and we thank the Baroda Durbar for its patronage of Sanskrit learning.

N. C. B.

Ourselves

OUR NEW VICE-CHANCELLOR.

It is with real pleasure that we offer our most sincere congratulations to the Rev. W. S. Urquhart, M.A., D.Litt, on his recent appointment as our Vice-Chancellor and we heartily welcome one who has long been associated with us very intimately not only as a Fellow of the University since 1916 and a member of the Syndicate, Dean of the Faculty of Arts in 1927, and a member of numerous Boards and Committees but, what to us is more significant, also as an important member of the Teaching Staff of the Post-Graduate Department in Arts in the welfare of which he has invariably evinced a zealous interest in spite of whatever honest difference of opinion that may exist between his views, ideas and ideals and those cherished by the staunch advocates of the teaching side of the Calcutta University.

We are also glad to bear in mind that when in 1918 the *Calcutta Review*, of which the first number appeared in May, 1844, under the able editorship of Sir John Kaye with whom were associated as collaborators men of high repute like Sir Henry Lawrence, Dr. Alexander Duff and Mr. Marshman, commenced its second series, it was W. S. Urquhart, Esq., M.A., then Professor of Philosophy at the Scottish Churches College of which he now happens to be the Principal, who assumed the responsible office of its Editor and in a very lucid contribution to the first number of the New Series (No. 271, Quarterly, for January, 1913) gave an illuminating survey of the history and achievements of this Magazine. We are proud that our present Vice-Chancellor still keeps his close touch with us as a member of the Board of Editors from whom we naturally expect hearty co-operation and able guidance in promoting the interests of what has practically been recognised as the academic organ of the University of Calcutta.

The Rev. Dr. Urquhart's appointment bids fair to promise a new era of peaceful progress and growth for the Teaching University of Calcutta at the end of a very trying period of storm and stress for its Post-Graduate Arts side which, we now hope, has at last passed through its worst days.

He brings an open mind and a sympathetic heart and possesses a thorough knowledge of all important details and he fully realises the immediate and urgent needs, as much as the difficulties and dangers, of the complex organisation of which he is now the responsible Executive Head.

The very recent interview given by him to a representative of the *Statesman*, as reported in its issue of the 28th August last, encourages us in hoping that he will, at all events, very soberly give the fullest consideration to every vexed question affecting the future of the University.

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DEATH OF LORD HALDANE.

We deeply regret to record the death of the Right Hon'ble Viscount Haldane of Cloan, O.M., at the age of 72. He was a distinguished statesman and philosopher of the time. At the age of 16 in 1873 he went to Edinburgh University and studied philosophy under the late Professor Fraser. Three years later he got First Class Honours in Philosophy at the M.A. Examination and obtained the Fergusson Scholarship of the four Scottish Universities. Then he went to Gottingen and studied under Lotze. He was much influenced by Kant and especially by Hegel. "On the whole," he writes, "I think Hegel has come nearer to the ultimately true view than any one since the ancient Greeks." After finishing his University career, he joined the Bar and took to politics but he never ceased to be interested in philosophy and to study it. He made his *debut* in philosophy as an editor of a volume of essays written by young Hegelians

in 1883 entitled *Essays in Philosophical Criticism*. He contributed a very thoughtful essay to this volume. In the midst of his active career as a lawyer and politician he was appointed Gifford Lecturer in the University of St. Andrews in 1902. The lectures he delivered have been published under the title of *Path way to Reality*.

Lord Haldane entered the House of Commons (he was then not a peer, but plain Mr. R. B. Haldane) as a Liberal member from a Scottish constituency in 1885. In the following year the Liberal Party was shattered by the controversy over Gladstone's Home Rule Bill and was driven into the wilderness for twenty long years. When the Liberals came into power in 1906, he became Secretary of State for War in Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman's ministry. In 1910 he was made a peer and elevated to the position of Lord High Chancellor. His great achievement as War Secretary for which he will live in history was his creation of the British Expeditionary Force, which made it possible for England to take the field immediately after the declaration of war in 1914. But for the prompt appearance of British divisions in France, the French army would have been hopelessly overwhelmed and Germany would have speedily won the war. An ungrateful section of Lord Haldane's countrymen forgot this and malignantly attacked him in the days of the War for his German scholarship and his desire to cultivate good relationship with Germany. He had once spoken of Germany as his "spiritual home." All that he meant was that German philosophy, particularly the philosophy of Hegel, was the source of his inspiration. The expression was misinterpreted and vindictively used to lower him in the estimation of the British public. So great was the prejudice created against him that the Conservatives refused to join Mr. Asquith's first Coalition Ministry unless Lord Haldane was left out. Mr. Asquith was most unwilling to do this and Sir Edward Grey was inclined to resign. But the duty of remaining at his post at a time of crisis

led him to change his mind. Deeply hurt, Lord Haldane found solace in philosophy to which he turned with undivided attention. The result was the publication of his famous book entitled the *Reign of Relativity*, which went through several editions within a few months, in 1921. "On the day of my release from office as Lord Chancellor in 1915," he writes in his preface, "I projected this book on Relativity."

Lord Haldane had recently become keenly appreciative of Indian philosophy and regretted that he had not taken to the study of it earlier. His article on "East and West" in the July number of the *Hibbert Journal* shows his attitude towards Indian philosophy.

In spite of his temporary unpopularity Lord Haldane was generally regarded as one of the greatest intellects of England. He was a man of versatile genius capable of achieving distinction in more than one sphere.

A great man and a good man has passed away and the world has sustained an irreparable loss.

THE LATE RIGHT HON'BLE SYED AMEER ALI.

In the death of the Right Hon'ble Syed Ameer Ali, P.C., C.I.E., M.A., D.L., the Moslem community has lost one of its highly cultured representatives and an able champion and India one of her noblest sons. He deservedly won a high reputation as a Judge of the High Court, a member of the Bengal Legislative Council and also of the Imperial Legislative Council and of the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council, a profound scholar of European fame. As a Fellow of the Calcutta University he rendered signal service in the Faculties of Arts and Law, being attached to the Board of Arabic and Persian Studies, and President of the Faculty of Law. For some years he was also a member of the Syndicate and having served with eminent success as Lecturer of Mahomedan Law at the Presidency College from

1873 to 1878 was appointed in 1884 the Tagore Law Professor. His Critical Examination of the Life and Teachings of Mahomed, Spirit of Islam, Ethics of Islam, A Short History of the Saracens and his two volumes on Mahomedan Law are well-known standard works. In addressing the Special Convocation of December, 1921, which conferred on him the degree of Doctor of Law, the late Sir Asutosh, the then Vice-Chancellor, referred in highly eulogistic terms to "his scholarly contributions to the exposition and development of legal principles which outstripped the boundaries of Moslem Jurisprudence." His is the great honour of having been the only Indian contributor to the Cambridge History. We sincerely offer our condolence to his bereaved family.

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THE HON'BLE MR. RAMAPRASAD MOOKERJI, M.A., B.L.

We offer our hearty congratulations to the Hon'ble Mr. Ramaprasad Mookerji, M.A., B.L., on his election to the Council of State. His sturdy independence and honesty of purpose have already endeared him to the public. We have no doubt he will add to his reputation in this new sphere of work also.

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SIR ASUTOSH MOOKERJEE MEDAL.

The Sir Asutosh Mookerjee Medal in Arts for 1926 has been awarded to Mr. Sukumar Sen, M.A., for his thesis on "Aswa Ghosh : Philological and Literary Study."

THE BEERESHUR MITTER MEDAL.

The following subjects have been selected for the Beereshur Mitter Medal for 1929 :—

The Silk Industry in Bengal, 1860-1928,

or

Jute Cultivation and Industry in Bengal—their history, economic effects and present position.

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THE JUBILEE RESEARCH PRIZES.

The following subjects have been selected for the Jubilee Research Prizes in Arts and Science for the year 1930 :—

Arts—Village Reconstruction.

Science—Soil Acidity and Base Exchange in Soils.

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THE TAGORE LAW PROFESSORSHIP LECTURES.

The following three subjects have been selected for the Tagore Law Professorship Lectures for 1930 :—

(1) The History of the Hindu Law in the Vedic Age and in Post-Vedic Times down to the Institutes of Manu.

(2) History of Legal Development in India during the Period of Mahomedan Administration in India.

(3) The Law relating to Dissolution of Marriage and Judicial Separation in British India.

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D. P. H. EXAMINATION.

An interval of 14 days will be allowed between the commencement of the D. P. H. Examination, Part I, and that of

Part II, in order to enable those candidates who would pass Part I of the examination to appear immediately in the Part II of the examination.

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MEDICAL EXAMINATION.

The next Medical Examination will be held on the 19th November, 1928.

The 15th October, 1928, has been fixed as the latest date for submission of applications and fees for admission to the examinations.

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PROFESSOR C. V. RAMAN'S NEW DISCOVERY IN SCIENCE.

Professor Arnold Sommerfield of Munich, one of the greatest living Physicists has written a letter dated the 16th June, 1928, to Prof. C. V. Raman, M.A., D.Sc., F.R.S., highly eulogising him on his new discovery and his papers on the optical analogue of the Compton Effect. Professor Siegbahn, the eminent Swedish Physicist and Nobel Laureate, has also written a letter to Professor C. V. Raman praising him for his scientific discovery which he terms as "indeed a wonderful discovery."

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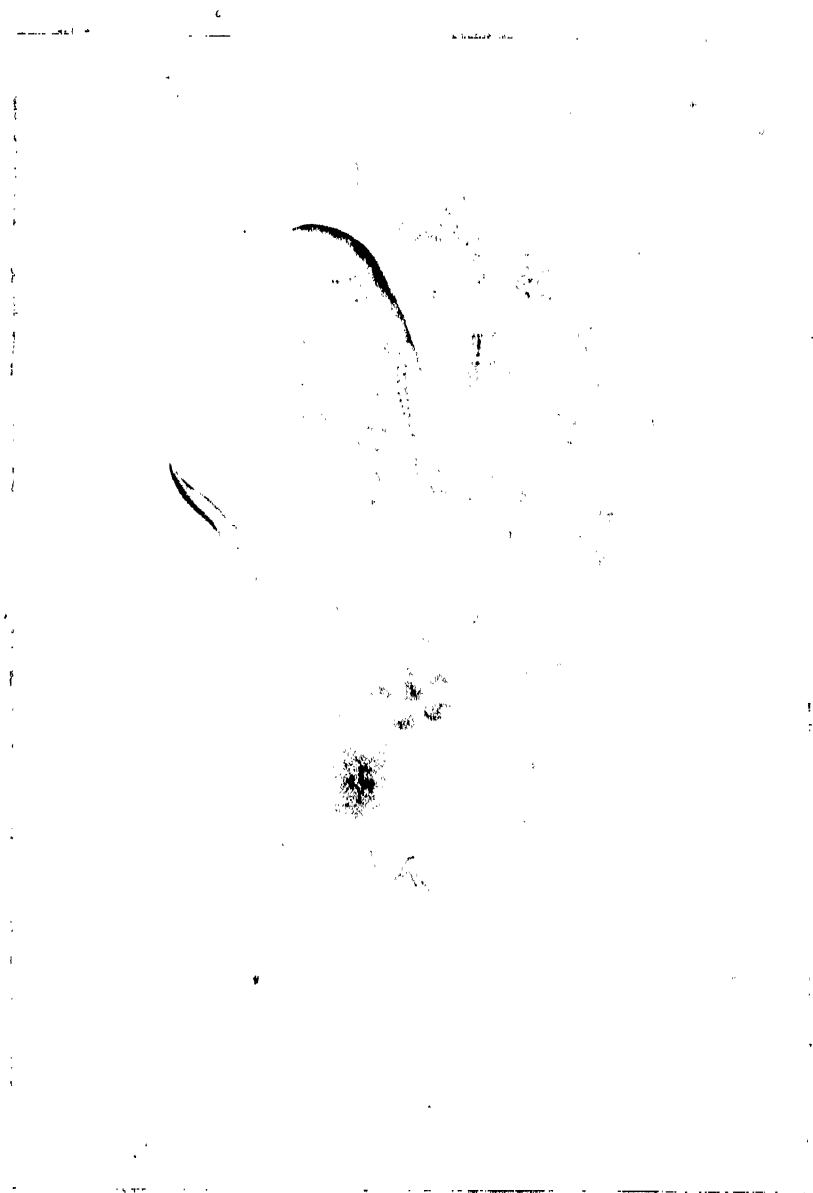
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THE TWENTIETH ANNIVERSARY OF THE FOUNDATION OF THE CALCUTTA MATHEMATICAL SOCIETY.

At its last annual meeting, the Calcutta Mathematical Society resolved to celebrate the twentieth year of its foundation by bringing out in Volume XX of its *Bulletin*, to be also called the Commemoration Volume, a collection of original papers, by eminent mathematicians all over the world, on Pure Mathematics. Applied Mathematics. Astronomy and the History of

Mathematics and Astronomy. The Society also resolved that the President, Dr. Ganesh Prasad, Hardinge Professor of Higher Mathematics, be requested to invite contributions to the Commemoration Volume. It is gratifying to note that the invitations sent out by Professor Ganesh Prasad have met with very encouraging response. Most of the mathematicians, invited to send contributions, have expressed their appreciation of the honour done to them by the invitation, and many of them have either already sent their contributions or promised to send them in the near future. Papers have been received from Sir Frank Dyson (Astronomer Royal of England) and Professors Sir Joseph Larmor (Cambridge), Horace Lamb (Cambridge), A. R. Forsyth (London), Ludwig Bieberbach (Berlin), Leonida Tonelli (Bologna), Leopold Fejér (Budapest), R. Fueter (Zürich), F. Riesz (Szeged, Hungary), W. Sierpinski (Warsaw), Hans Hahn (Vienna), E. T. Whittaker (Edinburgh), Niels Nielsen (Copenhagen), D. E. Smith (New York) and T. Hayashi (Sendai, Japan). The Commemoration Volume will be issued in four parts, each consisting of about 80 pages. The authorities of the Calcutta University Press have kindly consented to make special arrangements for printing the volume, and it is hoped that the first part will be out in the first week of October next.

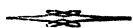


GODDESS DASABHUJA

[From an old painting]

THE CALCUTTA REVIEW

OCTOBER, 1928



THE REFORM OF CALCUTTA UNIVERSITY

Nearly ten years have passed since the Calcutta University Commission issued its comprehensive report ; but, though some of its proposals have been adopted in other parts of India and Dacca University has been established, the University of Calcutta remains constitutionally unchanged. This fact is the less surprising, as though the Commission recognized that the main difficulties of Calcutta University were due to its complexity and excessive size, the reforms proposed would have greatly added to the complexity of its organization, and would not have prevented its continued increase in size. According to many Indian educationalists the Indian Universities were started on altogether wrong lines ; those lines, it appears to me, were the best available, and the gigantic growth of the universities indicates their suitability to the Indian conditions of their time. The greatest legislative blunder in the history of the Indian Universities was that the Curzon Commission of 1902-4 failed to use its unique opportunity. Calcutta University was then 45 years old ; it had grown too large, and was yet inadequate. Its examinations were hampering the best of the teachers, and were an ineffective check on the less efficient. Its Colleges needed reform and expansion. Unfortunately, instead of improving the examination system and setting up a teaching University which could have provided the Colleges with an adequate supply of well trained

teachers, the Curzon Commission piled further responsibilities and duties on the already overburdened University organization. The Universities Act of 1904 applied throughout India, but the troubles due to it were most serious in Bengal ; for the success of Calcutta University and its progress with schemes for the higher branches of work gave the opportunities for greater internal friction. The conclusion on which the Calcutta University Commission of 1917-9 under Sir Michael Sadler was most united and emphatic was the need for drastic reform, and for reduction in the scope of the University's work.

In 1918 Calcutta University had a larger number of students than any other university in the world. It had 28,400 students, and the number has since risen to over 34,000. It has been exceeded by Columbia University, New York, with its 34,247 in 1924-5, which I am informed has been surpassed by the Federal University of California. The huge European and American Universities have two advantages over those of India ; they are fed by better schools and can rely on a larger expert educational " *posse comitatus* " for service on the governing bodies and Committees. Dimensions that may be tolerable in Europe and the United States may be unworkable in India.

Calcutta University, with its 51 colleges and 28,400 students, and its jurisdiction over 288,000 students,¹ has become both too large and complex for satisfactory management by any unpaid board. If the East Indian Railway were to replace its Directors and highest officials by an unpaid Committee of 100 eminent citizens, its trains would probably be less punctual than they are. One method of reducing the size of the University would be by depriving many of the colleges of their University status. This course has been recommended on the ground that the numbers of University students and colleges are in excess of the requirements of Bengal ; but any policy that involved the abolition for many of the colleges of their university connexion

¹ The numbers for 1917 are given by Richey, 8th Quinq. Rev., Vol. I, p. 49, as 58 colleges and 28,618 students.

would be strenuously resisted. That resistance would, I think, be inspired by a sound and creditable instinct. The belief in higher education is especially ardent in Bengal, and ambition to obtain a university training is particularly to be encouraged in a poor, crowded community where the brain-power of the people is the most valuable asset. The objection that the Universities train more men for degrees than there are posts for them to occupy applies to other countries besides India. We hear in Scotland of graduates making their fiftieth unsuccessful application for a post, and of others who, recognising the conditions, make no attempt to secure employment in their Honours subject. Sweden has recently established an organization to find work for its unemployed graduates, and a similar scheme has been proposed in England. Nevertheless the University degree is steadily strengthening its position and, during the past 20 years, has beaten the technical college diploma out of the market.

The reduction in the size of Calcutta University by depriving the provincial, Mufassal Colleges of their university status would crowd more students into Calcutta, where educational concentration is already excessive. The Mufassal Colleges should be encouraged and strengthened, and not weakened by the threatened loss of their university rank.

A second method of the reduction of Calcutta University would be by the separation of individual provincial colleges as independent universities ; but as the Sadler Commission recognized, with the exception of Dacca, there is no provincial College in Bengal which is likely to be qualified as a unitary University for many decades to come.

At the date of the Calcutta University Commission most Indian educational authorities were in favour of the unitary in preference to the federal university, and they considered that British opinion was predominantly the same. India received the report of the Haldane Commission on London University (March 1913) as the supreme educational revelation. That

Commission did not like examining Universities, and hoped that the side of London University which examined external students would in time be discontinued. Its report has since been officially set aside in this country as of no account. Lord Haldane himself has since recommended the maintenance in Wales of the Federal Examining University. A Commission upon the University of Wales, with Lord Haldane as Chairman, was appointed, with the object—according to one of its leading members—of replacing that Federal University by three independent unitary Universities. I was therefore amazed to find, when in India during the session of the Calcutta University Commission, from an advanced proof of the Welsh University Report, that the federal system, instead of being swept out of Wales, was to be confirmed and extended. Its extension was duly enacted.

During the past 15 years there has been a strong reaction in Britain in favour of the federal university system. Glasgow University ceased to be unitary in 1913, when it led the way in the policy which has rendered unnecessary the establishment of technological universities, by its affiliation of the Royal Technical College, and of the Agricultural College of the West of Scotland. London University, by its recent decision to accept the internal examinations of the Imperial College of Science at South Kensington as qualifying for the University degrees, has practically adopted the federal system as regards one of its colleges. "Nature," formerly one of the most influential critics of the Examining University of London, has in recent years recognized that its examining side is indispensable in the educational system of the British Isles, and is an important Imperial asset.

That the trend of University development in India is also towards faith in the Examining University is shown by the changes in the United Provinces. In accordance with the predominant opinion of a couple of decades ago, Allahabad University was converted from an examining to a teaching University, and

was left in control of some affiliated colleges. The Act of 1926 separated those colleges from Allahabad University, and with the unanimous approval of all the institutions concerned. Agra University was inaugurated in 1927 as an examining university for the United Provinces.

The former hostility to federal universities was due to the distrust of examinations, and it was believed in India that the University which gave degrees to external students upon examinations would soon be a thing of the past. Examinations themselves had been in extreme disfavour. They are naturally unpopular among both teachers and pupils, for they hamper the good teachers, reveal the deficiencies of the inefficient, and punish the lazy student. The indispensable help of properly conducted examinations has, however, been generally recognised in recent years. Examinations enable a few experts to control and guide the teaching over the larger area than they could influence by inspection. Examiners can see that the teachers pay due attention to the essential parts of a subject, and do not devote too much time to the easier sections and the fairy tales of science. Examinations show which teachers know their subject and can teach it. They enable inaccurate and out of date textbooks to be suppressed, or lead to the correction of their errors. Examinations moreover test the student's character, morale, and nerve, as success generally goes to those who have the self-discipline and foresight to work steadily throughout their course, and who are sufficiently quickwitted to apply their knowledge. Students who are flustered in an examination room would probably fail in an emergency in after life. So improved is the reputation of examinations that during the last alteration of the Constitution of London University, special regulations to safeguard its external examining side were regarded as unnecessary, as no one of any authority held the obsolete view that it would be possible to dispense with that branch of the University work.

So long as the external examination is necessary in the educational system of the British Isles it can hardly be dispensed

with in India. As Sir Henry Sharp predicted in his address on the Development of Indian Universities to the Society of Arts (J. R. Soc. Arts, Vol. 73, 1925, p. 524), "The affiliating University has still a long life before it in India." J. A. Richey goes further when he declares in the last Quinquennial Review of the Progress of Education in India (Vol. I, p. 64), "There will always be in India a need for Universities of the affiliating type."

The subdivision of Calcutta University into separate teaching and examining institutions was practically impossible in 1918 owing to the feeling in Calcutta in favour of the unity of the University, and the desire of the Mufassal Colleges to retain their connection with Calcutta. Bengal was proud of its University, and wished it to remain the largest in the world. The Principals of the Mufassal Colleges feared that if it were subdivided the change would deprive many of those institutions of their University rank.

The urgent need for reform of the University, and the obvious impossibility at that time of establishing an independent Teaching University in Calcutta, led the Commission to adopt a compromise. The whole Commission recommended the relegation of the lower classes of the Colleges to "Intermediate Colleges" which would be pre-University in grade; the transfer of the recognition of schools to a Secondary Education Board; and a fundamental change in the constitution of the University. The majority recommended a scheme to enable the University to cope with the varied and enormous activities that would be left to it, as it would remain in charge of all higher education in Bengal except at Dacca. But the scheme proposed was so elaborate and costly that the failure to adopt it is not surprising.

As regards the government of the Mufassal Colleges the Commission adopted a compromise based on their being placed under a special board which might either disappear in time or be separated as a University of "a federal or combined federal

and affiliating type." (Report, Vol. IV, p. 349.) I assented to this compromise owing to the impracticability at that time of establishing two separate Universities, but I predicted that the separation of the teaching and examining functions of the University would be welcomed in ten years' time. The Board of Mufassal Colleges could then be separated as a Federal Examining University for all the Colleges in Bengal except those that were constituents of the Teaching Universities of Calcutta and Dacca.

The fact that there has been no attempt in Calcutta to enact the elaborate scheme proposed by the majority of the Commission shows that there is little prospect of its adoption. Progress might now be possible on the alternative policy, which was to strike at the root of the trouble by the separation of the teaching and examining work of the University. Some of the colleges, such as the Presidency College, the Medical College, the College of Science, Sibpur Engineering College, and perhaps some others, might be united as a Teaching University in Calcutta, while the rest might be combined as an Examining Federal University. The government of this federal university should include a board containing a representative of each of the colleges of which more than a certain number of students graduate at the University.

Any subdivision of Calcutta University would meet with opposition and would be regretted by many who might accept it. For that University has aroused amongst its graduates an unusual degree of pride and affection. Few institutions are prepared to welcome their own dismemberment. But the graduates and staff should feel the just pride of a parent in the growth into independence of a lusty son, and may be reconciled to the change by realizing that continued yoking of the examining and teaching sides of the University is detrimental to its progress and to the educational interests of Bengal.

If the reluctance of the University to give up any of its present work—a feeling that is largely sentimental—could be

overcome, it might be relatively easy to allay other opposition ; for the reform on this plan would not involve the difficulties that have proved insuperable with the full Commission scheme. That may be fairly described as revolutionary, as it required so many drastic changes to be made concurrently. Recognition of this fact led to the proposal that a temporary commission should be appointed with arbitrary powers. If the University were subdivided into a teaching and an examining organization, each part might develop on more vigorous and progressive lines. The difficulties of finance would not be serious. The Federal University would obtain large funds from examination fees, while some of the constituents of the Teaching University would carry on with their present incomes ; and the Teaching University might reasonably hope for such supplementary Government assistance as would be needed.

Fundamental changes in the constitution of the University would be unnecessary. The Senate and Syndicate might remain in charge of all the work left in the Federal University and the chief advantages of the proposed Mufassal Board could be obtained by the existing Government powers of appointment. Some representatives of the Mufassal Colleges should be on the governing authority of the Examining University, so that it would be federal and affiliating, and not only an examination board for external students.

The institution of the Intermediate Colleges would be a matter that would primarily concern the Federal Affiliating University. It might secure their establishment as soon as an adequate supply of teachers for them were available, and the conditions would enable those colleges to fulfil expectations.

The two Universities would have such different functions that friction between them should be avoidable, and they should co-operate, the students of the one University passing on to the post-graduate courses in the other, just as students interchange in the higher courses among British Universities,

The objections raised in 1918 on behalf of the Mufassal Colleges would not apply to the separation of a Teaching University from Calcutta University. Those colleges would retain their rights and their connection with Calcutta. They would be given a stimulus to develop, since as soon as any one of them were strong enough, it could apply for a charter as an independent Unitary Teaching University. The colleges would have easier relations with Calcutta than when competing with such powerful and well-equipped institutions as the Presidency and Medical Colleges.

Instead of the subdivision of Calcutta University three other courses may be suggested.

1. The adoption of the proposals in the majority report of the Calcutta University Commission. As nine years have elapsed without progress on those lines, they are not likely to be followed now, especially as the conditions have been so greatly altered by the Indian Reform Act of 1919 and by other changes.

2. To make no important constitutional changes but let the University quietly reform itself. The experience of the last few years shows that no adequate reforms are likely to be secured by this policy, and though the University may endure for years, although too heavy for its constitutional framework, some of its departments will assuredly reach a condition of inefficiency which may lead to the enforcement of drastic changes from without.

3. That the objections formerly advanced to the proposed University of Bengal are valid to a University composed of the Mufassal and of some of the Calcutta Colleges.

The main objection in 1918 was that the Mufassal Colleges felt that they might lose their University status if the University were subdivided into a teaching and an examining body. If the changes would not involve the loss of their affiliation with the University of Calcutta, their interest would be to support its subdivision.

If a central Teaching University in Calcutta were based on some of the Calcutta Colleges and the rest of them were left as a distinct University, it might be suggested that the name of the University of Bengal would be appropriate for the Examining University, as it would include colleges in both Calcutta and the Mufassal. That name would appear to be in accordance with precedents in the United States and Canada ; but in those cases there is one University for a whole State. The existence of the separate Universities in Calcutta and Dacca would render this name inappropriate. The same objection would apply to the term Presidency University for the Teaching University ; for though the name Presidency is suitable for the premier college of Bengal it would not be for the University if restricted to one city, and there included only part of the University work.

To entitle the teaching institution the University of Calcutta would transfer the name from an organization which was still carrying on its original and main work to a new body, and to work that was not part of the original functions of the Calcutta University.

It would be fully in accordance with general practice for a University, even though it has a wide sphere of operations, to be named after a capital city. It would therefore be historically more suitable for the Examining University to retain the name of the University of Calcutta.

It would be equally in accordance with precedent for a centralized Teaching University to be named after an individual. The rival names suggested for the proposed Teaching University in London were Gresham and Albert. The Leland-Stanford of California is an American example. The Teaching University in Calcutta might be associated with the name of Asutosh Mookerjee, who secured for the University the munificent Tarak Nath Palit and Rash Behari Ghose endowments, who founded the great Post-graduate College, who did so much to inspire the present enthusiasm for higher education in Bengal, and reiterated his conviction (*e.g.*, in his Convocation Address for 1912) that

"what we require are Universities teaching rather than examining." He proclaimed the importance of a centralized Teaching University in Calcutta, which would be readily adaptable to the fast-changing conditions of India. He realized that the University under its present constitution was not developing as well as he desired. He regretfully deplored "that our Indian Universities have so far failed conspicuously to come up to the standard of the Western Universities." The Indian Universities, he added, "may be said to have acted as faithful guardians of the sacred flame, but they have done nothing to make it burn brighter and higher so as to dispel in an ever-widening circumference the darkness which surrounds human intelligence."

There appears to have been growing recognition in Calcutta during the past ten years that despite the general progress and brilliant achievements connected with the University, the drift into inefficiency of some departments is a growing danger to the whole institution. The establishment of a Teaching University in Calcutta would be an appropriate memorial to Sir Asutosh Mookerjee and would secure for its research institutions those powers of illumination which he thought they should possess, and which are restricted while they are hampered by inclusion in a primarily Examining University.

J. W. GREGORY

BRITONS AND BENGALIS

It used to be said in my youth that when the English evacuated India they would leave nothing behind them except empty beer-bottles and derelict railway embankments. The gibe has lost whatever force it once possessed. India is now invested with all the paraphernalia of a modern empire. Railways, roads and irrigation canals have banished the incubus of famine which still oppressed her in the Seventies. Disease is fought with every weapon forged by science. Higher education is within the reach of the humblest ryot ; and the English language has supplanted Urdu as a vehicle for exchanging thought throughout the vast peninsula. But I need not expatiate on the benefits which India derives from her connection with England. Suffice it to add that her noble codes of law will survive when all other evidences of foreign rule shall have passed away.

For ages unnumbered India was severed from the rest of the world by mountain barriers and stormy seas. Her isolation is a thing of the past. For good or for evil she has been brought within the vortex of spiritual forces which are moulding the course of civilisation. Chief among these is the Democratic ideal, which asserts the indefeasible right of every citizen to take part in the duties of government. It inspired the experiment made nine years ago, when England conceded to India every political privilege which her own sons had won after seven centuries of struggle with arbitrary and personal rule. The bonds that linked her with Whitehall were relaxed ; the foundations of parliamentary government were well and truly laid. Englishmen had done their utmost to make the new Constitution a reality. It was the great Napoleon's aim to give everyone a "career open to talents," and his ideal has materialised in India. Who in the Seventies foresaw that

fifty years later a Bengali leader would be raised to the Peerage and govern a province? It needs but a decade of cordial co-operation on the part of Indian races to weld them into a self-governing Nation. Unhappily for the world's future ignorance and prejudice stand as lions in the path of political progress. To take part in the task of slaying them is the ambition of an old man who longs to see a perfect understanding achieved between Indians and Englishmen ere he joins the great majority.

The influence of a country's soil and climate on the formation of national character has long engaged the attention of students, but this subject gives rise to problems which have hitherto defied solution. Why, for instance, do European families long settled in the United States of America exhibit many characteristics of the Red Indian aborigines; and why do the children of English settlers in South Africa become sturdy Africanders? No such mystery attaches to the causes of England's greatness. Her people are of mixed descent. The racial warp was given by the advent of certain Teutonic tribesmen who colonised the island after the departure of its Roman garrison. They were stolid, drunken and barbarous, but possessed a strong sense of citizenship: the germs of representative government existed in England long before the Norman Conquest. The weft consisted of Scandinavians who came from a huge peninsula lying between 55° of northern latitude and the Arctic Circle. Their habitat was unsuited to agriculture; but survivors in the struggle with niggard Nature became vigorous, enterprising and quick-witted. Setting forth in galleys from the fiords which indent their coast, these Northmen or Normans founded principalities on the Mediterranean littoral and in northern France. The invasion of England by William, Duke of Normandy, marks an era in the world's history. His followers found a comparatively genial climate and a soil which favoured the production of wool. Wealth poured in, affording the sinews of dynastic warfare; and a coast-line longer than that of any European country gave them command

of the sea. Then began a clash between opposing ideals which endures at the present day. The Catholic religion which then prevailed throughout Europe, enjoined good works as a means of attaining salvation ; and the conception of citizenship which had taken root in Saxon England was a further incentive to labour for the common weal. The ideal of Social Service shone brightly in the Middle Ages.

Towards the close of that era human energy received another orientation from the invention of book-keeping by double-entry, which revolutionised the mechanism of foreign trade. Its author, an Italian Jew, belonged to a race which had always been devoted to money-getting. Its ruling passion infected Western Europe, and appealed with special force to Englishmen. Now all commerce consists in taking advantage of other people's necessities. Those who pursue it are apt to disregard the interests of their human instruments and of the community at large. Moreover, the morality of men leagued together for purposes of gain is in inverse ratio to the numbers so associated. Commercialism spread to the Church of Rome, provoking a violent reaction from reformers who sought to purge religion of its taint ; but the basic theory of the Protestant Reformation declared the acceptance of specified doctrines to be the sole passport to Heaven ; and the ideal of social service suffered a long eclipse. Commercialism received a mighty impetus from the discovery of the Cape route to India ; and the maritime nations of Europe started on a race for the monopoly of Asiatic trade. It was won by England by virtue of her superior resources. The creation of the East India Company in 1600 is another land-mark in history ; but the merchant-adventurers who obtained a charter of exclusive privileges from Queen Elizabeth's government were anything but empire-builders. They came as suppliants for a share of Indian trade to the throne of the Emperor of Delhi ; and their successors were forced by the instinct of self-preservation to take up the sceptre which fell from his feeble hands. Commercialism forged the links

which bind India to England, and the empire which rose on foundations unwittingly laid by a trading company retain many features of the counting house. The influence of commercialism was seen in the warfare which absorbed England's energy during the 18th century, in the supersession of cottage industries by machinery, and in the wholesale corruption which was bred by wealth wrung from the people of India. There was some truth in Napoleon's indictment of English as "a nation of shopkeepers," and Benjamin Disraeli had good grounds for saying that they had "stopped short at comfort and called it civilization." The eighth Earl of Elgin, renowned as a diplomatist and Viceroy of India, had cause to lament "the extension of the area over which Englishmen could exhibit the hollowness of their civilization and their Christianity." Glancing back on the chequered course of the Empire's history, one is compelled to admit that progress, in the true sense of that much-abused word, was retarded by the mastery of commercialism. But the ideal of Service revived at the 18th Century's dawn, and bore fruit in the formation of leagues without number for promoting social betterment. Its momentum is daily gathering strength, and bids fair to solve many a problem that vexes the modern world.

Nations learn little from one another except their peculiar vices; and Indians are inclined to judge the English race without weighing its solid virtues in the balance. The time is opportune for an attempt to review its qualities without pride or prejudice. Englishmen cherish the liberties which their forbears won after an age-long struggle with absolutism. They are law-abiding and eager to support legitimate authority. They are humane; English revolutions have been accomplished without bloodshed and English mobs are proverbially tender-hearted. They love manly games, which teach the immense value of teamwork and a chivalrous regard for fair play. They reverence tradition, and stand fast on ancient

ways ; hasty legislation is exceptional in their Parliament and ill-considered schemes seldom materialise. Their enterprise has made a little island set on northern seas the hub of a world-wide empire, which gives fair promise of becoming a society of self-governing nations. Their steadfast courage stood the acid test of the most terrible war in history, and enabled them to overcome a General Strike which would have plunged other countries in anarchy.

No human being and no institution devised by man can be flawless ; and a regard for justice compels me to add shadows to my picture. Englishmen lack imagination ; and very few possess the faculty of comprehending other people's aspirations. This defect has far-reaching consequences. It explains the genesis of the British empire ; for conquest and a capacity to sympathise stand at opposite poles. It precludes Englishmen foreseeing future contingencies.

In replying to a letter from William Wilson Hunter, Sir James Stephen wrote :

"John Bull is a well-meaning giant, but very nearly blind. In my opinion it would be well worth our Government's while to create a special historical or intelligence department, that we might have some idea of the Natural Consequences of our actions."

The Englishman's conservatism too often becomes "toleration of intolerable things" ; and his racial pride breeds a thinly veiled contempt for all foreigners. He is inclined to draw a colour-line, and maintain caste distinctions ; but both characteristics are common to all races of Aryan descent. Indians are equally prone to glory in a fair complexion, and their rigid caste-system hinders the achievement of Nationality.

In attempting to appraise a great people's qualities, one must take account of the judgments formed by contemporaries who are able to regard the question from an objective standpoint. Edmund Burke had a keen sense of the injury done to Ireland by English commercialism, and yet he paid a

tribute to "the ancient and inbred integrity, piety, good nature and good humour of the English. Despite the mutual antipathy which has been engendered by centuries of dynastic warfare and commercial rivalry, we find a patriotic Frenchman declaring that "England stands as an example to the world by her moral qualities, her generosity, practical initiative and devotion to the interests of mankind." Although the Fatherland is still smarting under defeat, a German writer has recently admitted that "the English people have a strong sense of justice, and as a rule a horror of oppression." Indians may surely accept English guidance in their efforts to weld the races of their country into a nation.

The origin of the Bengalis is wrapped in mystery; but most ethnologists place it in Central Asia. Long before the dawn of history a race or races classed as "Aryans" occupied the country between the rivers Amu Darya and Sir-i-Darya, which now forms part of Russian Turkestan. In the 16th century B.C. the globe's surface in that region began to rise. That the Caspian and the Sea of Aral once formed part of Polar Ocean, is proved by their Fauna. Slowly they shrunk to their present dimensions; and the river that discharged into the Northern Sea flowed in diminished volume. Driven from Central Asia by the desiccation of their pasture ground, the Aryans trekked westwards and southwards in quest of fresh fields. One swarm was held up in the Caucasus, for mountain ranges always call a halt to human migrations. Others poured into Europe, to become the ancestors of our Slavs and Teutons. Others made their way into India probably through the comparatively level country which now constitutes Afghanistan and Baluchistan. The Aryans met with fierce resistance from the dark-skinned aborigines, but finally drove them into the mountains or reduced them to slavery. They found Bengal a land which was in process of being won from the sea by riverine action. A tropical climate and a soil which is yearly fertilized by alluvium favoured the accumulation

of wealth. The warrior-caste established a powerful kingdom and the priests developed a system of philosophy which ranks with the profoundest speculation of the ancient Greeks. But torrid sunshine and the ravages of malaria kept human energy at a low ebb. Bengal has no physical defences on its northern or western borders, and its inhabitants have always succumbed to invasion. The first conquest which history records was achieved by the sword of Islam in the thirteenth century of the Christian era, and three hundred years later Bengal became a province of the Mughal Empire. Akbar's enlightened régime crumbled away under his successors, and received its death-blow from the Emperor Aurangzib's intolerance. The provincial Governor threw off his allegiance to Delhi, and established a short-lived dynasty which gave way in its turn to the East India Company's rule. Appalling indeed was the condition of Bengal throughout the eighteenth century. Maratha hordes traversed the Delta, plundering its miserable inhabitants, and only sixty years ago Bengali mothers were wont to quiet their factious children by whispering *Borgi ashibe!*—"The Marathas are coming!" The strong arm of Great Britain alone protects Bengal from foreign invasion and internal anarchy. The province proved of immense value to the English during the era of struggle and consolidation. Its revenues enabled the East India Company to carry on the warfare in which it were involved, and to pursue the policy of annexation which was forced upon it. Sixty years ago Sir George Chesney declared in his *Indian Polity*, that Bengal was, "the one part of India worth retaining were the rest to go." His words apply with ten-fold force at the present day.

Races of Aryan descent have many characteristics in common and, despite wide differences in physical environment, a curious similarity is apparent in certain phases of their evolution. This is especially the case with Bengalis, whose kinship with ourselves cannot be gainsaid. Having spent twenty years in Bengal and maintained close relations with that Province

since my retirement, I may claim a deeper knowledge of its people than any cold-weather visitor can possess. I have no hesitation in affirming that the Bengalis are a lovable race, quick to discern sympathy in an Englishman and eager to serve him with devotion. They have a long memory for acts of kindness; when I am reminded that there is no word for "gratitude" in their vernacular I always ask, "What have *you* done for their welfare?" Injuries and insults leave a lasting impression on their minds. I told the penultimate Governor of Bengal that his reputation would be made or marred by his speech and actions during the first six months of his rule. In addressing a London audience three months ago another ex-Governor said that he had found no traces of public spirit in Bengal. But India, like England, has witnessed a struggle between the ideal of social service and commercialism. Innumerable tanks, temples and bridges stand as evidence that the Indians of old performed good works in view of accumulating religious merit. They now support a vast army of paupers without the compulsion of poor rates. As I remarked in a previous chapter, the first symptom of impending famine is given by wandering lepers who can no longer depend for existence on private charity. Noble gifts for public objects are of daily occurrence in Calcutta; and institutions designed to promote the welfare of women, children and even animals are being founded in increasing numbers. - It must be admitted that Bengalis have learnt many "tricks of trade" from their European employers. They often develop a keen commercial sense and amass fortunes in business.

It is impossible to overstate the mischief wrought by writers whose knowledge of the conditions prevalent in India was necessarily superficial. Macaulay brands Bengalis with cowardice in his eloquent Essays (which, by the way, were set up in galley-proofs at a Calcutta Press). Now no quality is so universal as physical courage, and vigorous Bengalis possess it in a marked degree. Their ryots wage pitched battles over a morsel of

land, and their cricketers stand up to fast bowling with bare legs. If Bengalis are not a martial race the reason is that seventy per cent. suffer from malarial fever and its sequelæ. Moreover the ravages of the *anopheles* mosquito and the wire-worm have increased owing to the fact that until recently railways were carried athwart the Delta's natural drainage with absurdly inadequate waterway. On this score Bengalis deserve pity rather than reproach. Macaulay's indictment was of course based on hearsay evidence, and the Anglo-Indians of ninety years ago knew even less of the Bengalis than do their successors of to-day. And he cannot be accepted as an impartial or a trustworthy witness. He viewed past events through Whig spectacles: and his *History of England* is little else than a glorification of the Revolution of 1688. Regarding Macaulay's accuracy, Sir James Murray, who edited the great *Oxford Dictionary*, gave the London Authors' Club some startling facts. His volunteer helpers who undertook to verify all the authorities quoted in the *History*, had discovered that a large proportion of them were fictitious!

In the same category stands Miss Katherine Mayo, whose *Mother India* has made a profound impression in the three continents. She had heard the English administration of India violently attacked by platform orators in the United States, and journeyed thence to Calcutta with the laudable intention of seeing things for herself. Her sincerity cannot seriously be called in question, but here again we detect the evil results of superficial knowledge. To speak with authority on an ancient and alien civilisation demands years of sympathetic study and an intimate acquaintance with the languages on which its various phases find expression. Miss Mayo possesses neither qualification. Her notions of Indian life were gleaned during the cold weather of 1925-6, and her scathing exposure of its defects is to a very large extent based on statements made by people who share her incapacity for forming an unbiassed judgment. The British government rightly insists on its officials observing strict

neutrality on questions of religion, and foreigners ought to realise that they are skating on very thin ice when they venture to impeach a cult which is professed by 217 millions of their fellow creatures.

The religious instinct arises from man's sense of his dependence on an unseen Power whose nature and workings transcend his comprehension. Regarding Wagner's music Mr. H. R. Haweis wrote :

"It reflects the ever-recurrent struggles of the human heart, now in the grip of inexorable fate, now passion-tossed, at war with itself and time, soothed with spaces of calm, flattered by dreams of ineffable bliss, filled with sublime hopes—and content at last with far-off glimpses of God."

Such is the source of the religious instinct, and all its manifestations are worthy of respect, however repellent they may seem to the Western mind. I have no intention of posing as a champion of the Tantric form of Hinduism or of the Kali worship to which Miss Mayo takes such vigorous exception. Neither has any warrant in the early Shastras. Their origin marks the final phase of the age-long struggle between Brahminism and Buddhism, in which the former won a decisive victory by pandering to the lustfulness and love of bloodshed of the barbarous princes who misgoverned India thirteen hundred years ago. But images which excite pruriency or disgust in Europeans serve only to exalt the fervour of Indian devotees, who regard the emblems of birth and destruction from a purely mystical point of view.

In the course of his cold-weather tour, an English Magistrate arrived at a city and was cordially greeted by its inhabitants. Noticing that some obscene bas-relief which figured on the walls of an ancient temple had been painted afresh he learnt that this had been done in honour of his visit. In reply to his remonstrances the Municipal Chairman said, "Sir, we like to think that when our women-folk pass by this temple their eyes should rest on pious and pleasing objects." The mentality thus indicated offers an insoluble problem to the European mind, but it is

encountered everywhere in India. But one may well ask whether the Puritans of England and America have any right to criticise a cult whose hidden meaning they are constitutionally unable to grasp. Hinduism, like Judaism, is rigidly closed to all who have been born outside its pale : it has never persecuted or proselytized : its annals record no Inquisition, no holocausts of "heretics," no hideous and prolonged warfare waged under the pretence of religion. Miss Mayo's book conveys an entirely erroneous impression of Indian society and every abuse that she pillories could be matched in her own country.

Dealing with its effect on the Western mind, Commander Wedgwood, M.P., told a public meeting held in London that it left a friend of his in India "feeling that he could never respect an orthodox Hindu again," and that :—

"Another man, a Cabinet Minister, said he could stand anything but those outrages on children. It left him feeling that he would like to lead something of a Crusade throughout India for the burning of idols and the chastening of priests."

This Cabinet Minister's attitude towards Hinduism is that of many millions in England and America who have been nurtured in the militant creed of the Old Testament. I may add that no "outrages on children" were brought to my knowledge during twenty-one years' experience of criminal administration. A Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Children would find no scope for its activities in India. Miss Mayo's book has exasperated the Hindus of Bengal, who find their cherished beliefs assailed, the honour of their women-folk impugned, and the seamy side of their civilisation dragged into the pitiless daylight.

Believing as I do that India's future depends on a good understanding on all sides I cannot but deplore the wide circulation given to statements which are calculated to render co-operation between Englishmen and Indians impossible.

FRANCIS H. SKRINE

AFFECTATIONS

The natural way of living is from within outwards ; the mannerisms of natural people result from their nature. Affected people in so far as they are affected, live from without inwards ; their mannerisms are assumed and eat into their nature becoming second nature, or harden as an impenetrable crust till in time all the man we see is the affectation. Lack of confidence plus self-consciousness makes affectations necessary. An affectation is a mask hiding our real personality ; from behind it we can act more firmly and confidently. Or sometimes it is less a mask than a sign to catch the attention and lure it from our weaknesses. We pose, or affect a mannerism, to prevent our natural gauchness being observed. Affectations in speech act as such charms. A lisp flaunts insipidity in face of the world to distract attention from more solid virtues. A Parisian bubble in one's r's insures one's conversation against insularity.

The commonest affectations are in clothes. There lies the measure of our sincerity. Natural men and women take no interest in their clothes. Perfect self-confidence and complete unself-consciousness will almost bring a man to rags. When the natural boy begins to care for his clothes he has become self-conscious or lost his confidence. Since one is clothed from birth one might expect one's garments to lose their virtue as affectations. This is not so. Most people remain conscious of their clothes, which stand for the appearance they make before the world. Next to being devoured or chased by a wild beast, our worst nightmare is discovering ourselves in a crowd, insufficiently dressed. This suggests that our sub-conscious mind worries lest the barrier hiding our real selves should suddenly fail, that the sophisticated and the civilised still look on their clothes as an affectation. Our clothes make a difference to our confidence. There is no better cure for social diffidence than to be the best dressed woman in the room and nothing more devastating to one's assurance than being the worst. No one recognises this better than the frivolous, and even those who

despise the artificial dignity of clothes, feel it too. So accustomed are we to the sensation of being clothed that the tiniest nicety in them makes a difference ; we can distinguish subtle shades of affectation. A necklace, a tiara, may give the crowning touch to one's confidence, and the thinnest veil of powder on the nose create the illusion of having hidden the whole woman.

Though some tiny pretence at masking oneself, the wearing of some symbol of security, suffices for most, the almost universal enthusiasm of idle people in dressing up, shows that we should become much more affected if time permitted. Fancy dress or impersonation carries the illusion of security very far, and may give a quite absurd sense of liberation from the shackles of our proper personality. It is partly to make certain of this escape that women like to dress as men and men as women. One would almost say that drama owes some of its impulse to the uneasiness which many people feel in their own skins. Although the actor imitates that his audience may admire the imitation as such, part of the spring in his impulse may lie in a craving to lose his ordinary self.

Civilisation has its recognised affectations to bridge the human gaps made by its insincerities, or to discount the awkwardness of its artificially close contact. Some of them are sub-human. The small dog pretending he does not see the big dog practises the same affectation as his master afraid of a snub. Smoking probably starts as an affectation, and has a value as such. It creates an atmosphere of leisure. The indulging smoker at least looks at ease. Consequently when he feels least easy he takes out his case and offers a cigarette to the companion who makes him nervous. This affecting of an easy situation helps to make it easy in fact. In a group of smokers the magic circle is broken by the natural man who has not overcome his dislike for the filthy taste ; he feels out of it, as if he sat naked in presence of the clothed. Real friends, who do not need the affectation, indulge it from habit and partly because it symbolises friendly intercourse. We feel

the same thing in eating together. If we want to become more familiar, we ask our acquaintance to a meal. Eating is not an affectation, nor need our invitation necessarily be affected. We make it so by tidying the drawing room, putting on a better frock than usual, seeing that the tray cloth has no spots and using the best china. We do these things much less to honour our guest than to arrange a pedestal for ourselves, and she gets even by arriving in her floweriest hat. When the acquaintance becomes a friend, the need for affecting virtues goes, and we treat her naturally. Though the quickest way of making friends is to treat people naturally from the first, we cannot always risk it, the quickest way of making enemies. It would be dreadful to invite a new acquaintance to an untidy room if she detested untidiness, or to feed her on everyday china if she despised cracks. We wait to catch her with a hole in her glove before we discard our simulated tidiness. The affected meet people cautiously, protecting themselves as they go.

Affectations though always based on weakness often give strength. The affected have to live up to their pretences. Proper pride, so called, depends on an affected conceit of ourselves. When pride keeps people from degraded or mean conduct, this means that they behave decently not to let their barrier down. By affecting a very high conceit they may force themselves to noble conduct. Courage, fortitude, generosity, truthfulness may easily grow out of it. But people who are too proud to tell lies, have not necessarily truthful natures. Their honesty, too weak to stand by itself, leans on an artificial strength. Such pride, though not itself a beautiful thing, has a real value as virtue's crutch.

When affectations strike deep they become insincerities. At best they are superficial insincerities. Real insincerity involves self-deception. By affectations we do not deceive ourselves; we intend or pretend to deceive others. Jane Austen's *Emma* makes a type for the sincere affected person, while many natural people are quite insincere. Sentimentality, a sort of insincerity,

is natural to a number. Some remain too natural to disguise their insincerities ; they are so simple that they deceive themselves easily. Where insincerity and affectation lodge together the result is chaff and emptiness, where naturalness and sincerity, corn without a husk. Hence the reason we expect geniuses to remain childlike and forget to grow up. In reality no one grows up ; we only pretend to, by affecting artificial habits of behaviour and of mind ; the whole thing is a sham. Sincerity of mind seems essential to genius, and as sincerity is a quality of character we expect it to appear in their behaviour as well as their work. We expect the genius to be too sincere for affectation, and indeed where we come on exceptions we tend to count them as such, or deny the genius rather than accept the affectation.

We might almost divide humanity into two types, natural men and affected. The affected have many virtues. The sparkle of life usually comes from them. They make the flash on the stream. For the uninterested, affectations are better than dope to relieve the tedium of life, and for the busy we may say that, affectations being a sort of game, all sincerity and no play makes for dullness. Other things being equal, the affected attract one more. They have more light and shade, more surprises, more inconsistencies. Their society is spicier than that of nature's men and women. They make the best acquaintances, the best people to play with. The natural type live at the level of reality, taking life seriously or living intensely. Among them we find the thoroughly dull, the oppressed, the obsessed, the enthusiast and the genius. They may remain natural not only from concentrating on other matters or for lack of spring in their nature, but often because they dislike affectations for their unreality. They make the best people to work with, and the best friends. If the affected sparkle on life's current, the out-and-out sincere are the current. And when they do light up, it is not with a sparkle or glitter, but with fire.

KATHARINE M. WILSON

EDUCATION DOES NOT PAY

It may seem worth while, at this stage, to devote a few pages to trying to get a more exact idea of the time required for an improvement in the educational system to bear its fruits. If it is found that like the oak, it must grow for centuries before any benefit is realized, the propagandist must make his appeal on what amounts to purely religious grounds, as presumably they did who laid the foundations of the World's Great Temples, which were not designed to be completed for several generations. On the other hand, if a good deal is to be expected within a decade or two, it would be possible to appeal successfully, if not to entirely selfish instincts, at any rate to the personal interest that one generation takes in the next.

It will simplify matters somewhat to classify the results as follows :—

(a) The effects on the fortunes and happiness of the individual who is educated.

(b) The material benefits, however long deferred, that may be expected by the community at large.

(c) Beneficial effects, if any, on the evolution of the race.

It is very doubtful if there is anything at all to be noticed under (a). We have very high authority for supposing that he who increases knowledge, increases sorrow and not happiness. As for fortune, it will not be noticed that the most learned men were also the richest or even the most influential in any past age, and there is no reason to suppose that it will ever be otherwise. The devices by which one accumulates personal wealth are not very difficult to understand, not very interesting when they are understood. But though they are easy to understand, they are not easy to apply, and they are not made more interesting or more easy of application, by enlarging other activities of the mind; that is to say, by education. The hunger

for knowledge which gradually replaces all other desires as education proceeds, is a passion without joy, insatiable and never to be fulfilled. Those who have acquired most have realized nothing more satisfying than a conviction that all was yet to do.

The idea that the educated man earns his living more easily, and more pleasantly, than the uneducated one is a delusion of the uneducated mind. To resolve to make one's living by means of a superior education is to resolve to work for it. In general, it means to spend much more labour for a given return than the minimum that society demands. Moreover, the man who devotes a large proportion of his time and energy to the acquisition of knowledge, will naturally acquire less money than the man who gives all his time and energy to the acquisition of money, and less power than he who makes power and influence his sole pursuit. Education will not make his pursuit more effective in any appreciable degree. Money-making in itself is mere jugglery ; power and influence are over masses of men to the great majority of whom the educated man's ideas have no meaning whatever. The born leader of the ordinary man, is he who proclaims with the most energy and conviction the ordinary man's ideas : a feat quite incompatible with a liberal education.

Apart from this, the money-making devices having a scientific basis, are the syntheses of the work of many men each concentrating too intensely on some one narrow furrow to see the whole field of knowledge. Even if they could see the developing whole to which they are contributing, they would have no title to its profits and its credit, or if they had, would be without the skill to appropriate them. So much is this so that these powerful combinations must often wait for generations after they become possible before they are made. The Steam Railway is again the typical case. In the end the profit and the credit, go invariably to individuals whose contribution to the whole is quite negligible. A study with adequate data of the

history of any great invention or idea will always reveal it as the result of the labours of many men most of whom died without participating in any measure in the glory or the material awards ultimately resulting. Beyond the pleasure of more effective doing and thinking (and many would deny that there is any such pleasure) there is no perceptible advantage to the individual in being educated.

The tardiness of the benefit to the community at large is best illustrated by a few particulars taken partly from the *Encyclopædia Britannica*, and partly from the common facts of human experience. According to the former (see "Turbines") the Hon. C. A. Parsons, inventor of the reaction steam turbine, was born in the year 1854. He was the son of the third Earl of Ross, and as he has since demonstrated, a man of first class intelligence, perseverance and energy, uniting in himself all those advantages of birth, social influence, and natural ability which may be supposed to accelerate a man's success in life. An average man of moderate influence in public affairs whom we will call the Councillor was then 35 years of age, that is to say, he had acquired his influence rather early in his career. We will take it that the former of these two men represents the average child over whose educational facilities the equally representative Councillor exerts influence. In doing so we are weighting the data rather heavily against the inevitable conclusion.

Parsons' education was completed in the year 1879 when he was twenty-five years old, the Councillor being then in his sixty-first year. So far the Councillor knew nothing of Parsons as an individual, but he had been a keen enthusiast and a hard worker on the legislative side of education for about a quarter of a century; that is to say ever since Parsons was born. None of the students who benefited by his activities could possibly have acquired success and fame earlier than Parsons did. He scored his first notable success within five years of the date we have assumed for the end of his education,

when he produced an experimental steam turbine of 6 horse power. He was then thirty years old, and the Councillor was sixty-five. The latter not being specially interested in Engineering did not hear of the turbine. As a matter of fact he was beginning to fail a little, and five years later having reached the full three score and ten, he died and went to his reward. The reader will be glad to know that he was a man of robust faith, and did *not* say on his death bed, "I have wasted the greater part of my life in watering a barren tree."

The first turbine steamer was launched in 1897 when the inventor's age was forty three. Few people outside the engineering profession took much interest in her. She came very soon to a disastrous end for which many blamed the turbine. In 1906 everyone talked turbines, and it was generally realized that a new discovery of first class importance had appeared in the world. That was the year of the first turbinéd battleship, the "*Dreadnought*." The Councillor had been dead full of years, if not of honour, for seventeen years. Only three years after came the *Mauretania* and the *Lusitania* and ever since a broadening stream till now there are turbines everywhere on sea and land alike.

It is not necessary to the above example, to prove that the inventor could not have succeeded without his education. Whether or no education contributes to success of this kind, it certainly could not give success in any shorter time. Moreover, most of the Councillor's active life would be spent in improving the education of men much younger and less able than one selected for comparison, and therefore much later successful. Nearly all his work would mature several decades later than the turbine did. The turbine is the case of all, the most flattering to the hopes of those who expect to see the results of their educational work within their own times. The following is more typical.

The first man after the Dark Ages of Europe to interest himself in electricity was one Doctor Gilbert of Colchester, who

was born in 1540 and died in 1603. He recorded quite correctly a considerable mass of data regarding electrical phenomena, but none of it had any apparent application in industry. The next notable name is Boyle, 1627-91. More additions to the science students' syllabus but still no practical results. Boyle's death was 88 years later than Gilbert's. The next notable name is that of Franklin, an American; 1706-90. There were other contemporary workers, in the same field, but his is the outstanding one. We are now 200 years after the death of Gilbert. A cow has been given a severe electric shock by means of a kite flown on a copper wire during a thunderstorm: otherwise there is no indication of a practical result. Three men whose names have been honoured in the modern terminology of the subject and who worked all their lives on the further extension of our knowledge of electricity, come next. They are Galvani, 1737-72, Volta, 1745-1827, Coulomb, 1736-1806. In addition to the shocked cow, we have now to record the remarkable behaviour of a dead frog subjected to a feeble electric current: otherwise, nothing. Last, but not least, we have Faraday, 1791-1867, who lived to see the telegraph, but not the telephone, nor the electrically driven vehicle. It was in the second half of the nineteenth century, eight generations after the death of Gilbert, that this long tended plant at last burst into blossom: so true it is that "Art is long, and Life is fleeting."

It is related of an old farmer, that hearing of a new University to be founded at a cost of a million pounds, he said, "It would do us a lot more good to spend the money on artificial manure." If "us" means only all those now living he was entirely right. The title of this article (on that assumption) is the bald statement of an incontestable fact. A forward educational policy can never be successfully supported by an appeal to purely selfish interests. It is dishonest to try to do so. Education is profitable to no one. The people who found a school or college never live to see any results. Teaching is a poorly paid profession with no prospects. It is an almost

unvariable feature of the biographies of men who acquired great wealth or power, that they either had little education, or that they were conspicuously third-rate scholars.

Of those who began to read this article there are* probably now only a very few left and most even of these are no doubt thoroughly disgusted with what they regard as its perverse pessimism. It is, however, not impossible that one or two remain who are neither disgusted or discouraged, but rather inspired by the idea that they are working for something too great to be comprehended within the comparatively petty individual life. They may be interested to hear whether there is anything to be said under the third head, namely : What effect has education on the evolution of the race.

So far as our present knowledge goes, all the evidence is that, if there is any effect it must be very small. There is a school (at present a small minority) which holds that acquired characteristics (including one must suppose some of the results of education) are transmitted by ordinary generation. Others suggest that education must sooner or later tend to a wiser selection of parents, and thus indirectly to the elimination of those really unfit, but whose unfitness would not be obvious to an uneducated community ; and yet others who say that anything that adds to the momentary efficiency of a people more fitted for a less brutal age than for our own, may help them to survive, where otherwise they would perish. A fairly strong case may be made for assuming this to be so for large sections of the Indian people.

On the whole, however, the conclusion is that education can do very little for an individual or for a race not qualified by nature to receive it. The converse of this is that a race so qualified may be utterly submerged and uneducated for generations without losing its capacity. Neglect of education has as little effect on innate character as education has ; which is, at the worst, a consolation.

ENGLAND IN CONTEMPORARY ENGLISH LITERATURE

"England is a right good land, as I think of all lands best,
Set here at the world's end, far in the west."

Robert of Gloucester.

Maurice Hewlett, after a very active and scholarly life, as poet, novelist, critic, and British Museum official, died on the 13th of June, 1923. He is, however, and that in spite of his affection for mediaeval and Latin themes, so essentially of our own age and race that his name must surely be one of the first called to mind by the title of this brief essay. It may fairly be assumed that few modern writers have possessed such intimate knowledge of England and English literature as Hewlett. Certainly he has no contemporary rival as interpreter of the traditions, the loves and hates and apathies, the innate strength and the characteristic weaknesses of the English race. With that thoroughness which distinguishes all his best work and with his own clear-sighted scholarship, he sought for the key to twentieth century England in the remotest annals of her history, the fruit of ten years' wide reading and spasmodic composition being "The Song of the Plow." In the preface to this long, loosely-coupled chronicle the author sets forth his favourite theory, that

"By race the governed are British with a strong English mixture of blood: the governing class is by race even now preponderatingly Latin-French with a Scandinavian admixture: by tradition, breeding, and education it is entirely so. All the apparatus, all the science, all the circumstance of government are still Norman."

The poem tells the story of Hodge, the hireling ploughman from 1066 to 1916. To quote from the poet's "War Rimes,"

"This history sees the plain men on our planet
No better off than when God first began it."

Throughout the centuries Hodge and his children have risen unfailingly every morning in the dark before dawn, driven the creaking plough a-field, breakfasted on bread and bacon under the hedge, done their backbending work, rested on Sundays, got themselves children, and so lived out their lives. Yet Hodge was by no means perpetually miserable; indeed, his stupidity and good fellowship were sufficient to prevent that; nor was his lot so bad that it might not have been worse. He harboured no sense of wrong against lordly invaders who thought fit to put him in harness that they might fatten on his yield. His children and their children's children have served their taskmasters patiently, year after year through the centuries, even as old Hodge did before them.

“Is it not his yet, this dear soil,
Rich with his blood and sweat and tears?
Warm with his love, quick with his toil,
Where kings and their stewards come and go,
And take his earnings as tribute royal,
And suffer him keep a shilling or so?”

Hewlett was far from being a socialist. His later theories of life were mere variations on Rousseau and equally impracticable, in this commercial age, as the wildest dreams of that great Frenchman. Indeed, we must consider him, not as a sociologist, but as the artist he undoubtedly was. His love for England was very great, as was his admiration of the imperturbable Hodge, seen with his ploughing team,

“On the world's rim
Creeping like the hands of a clock.”

In “The New Canterbury Tales” he revives that mediaeval England which so appealed to him and of which he never tired. Even when he translates Homer, or is composing a tale of old Italy, one is always intensely aware of his nationality. The Tuscan lovers of his creation are such as one could have met,

three or four hundred years ago, anywhere in Devon, Gloucester, Wiltshire, Hampshire, or Kent,—lovers whose offspring keep the land to-day. In this patriotic tendency he, of course, follows in the direct tradition of Chaucer and Shakespeare, those two great anglicizers of foreign tales. As a friend of mine has written of him :

“Bury him deeply. An old God’s-acre
Well befits him. Although he drew
Tuscan beauty and praised its Maker
Well so doing, not less he knew
An English hearth, an English garth,
And Yeomen under an English yew.”

It is beyond my present scope to deal with such writers as Thomas Hardy, Charles Doughty, Hilaire Belloc, Arnold Bennett, and H. G. Wells—to name a few only of those contemporary writers who at some time or other have dealt with aspects of English life or breathed the spirit of England into their books. Each of these has his own individual axe to grind, and has, with the exception of Doughty and Hardy (who are too great for casual comment) laid no special claim to recognition either as interpreter of that simplicity and that fineness which are the best of England, or as portrayer of those enduring traits of country life which may yet in years to come see the decline of industrialism.

While serving with the Artists’ Rifles in 1917, Edward Thomas was killed. He had been educated at St. Paul’s School wherefrom he had passed as a scholar to Lincoln College. Early in life the writing of books became necessary to him as a means of making a livelihood, but it was not until he was farther advanced in years that he realised his gift for poetry. Thomas’ personality was more complex and striking than that of Hewlett, yet, like the older man, he too was a great lover of the English countryside.

The tendency of critics to use writers as mere pegs whereon to hang their own pet theories of art is commonly observed and

justly deplored. It would be ridiculous, therefore, on my part to suggest that Thomas was a second Clare, a pipe through which the winds of England were wont to blow. He was so much more than that. His language is bare, his methods occasionally awkward, but always the thought is clear and profound. Striving to communicate his emotions truthfully, he never lapsed into sentimentality; avoiding prettiness, he came upon sinuosity and surprising beauty of expression. All his finest work was closely concerned with and inspired by England. He has nothing in common with those rhymesters who, in an age that we trust has gone for good, were wont to talk glibly of "vernal meads" and "feathered friends." In his poetry we find no "echoes clear of immortality," and little of the surfeiting fluency or coloured emptiness of Rupert Brooke. Any catch-penny bard will string you off a jingle of verses rhyming in "sea" and "tree," "rain" and "again," or sing you a song of blue skies and honeyed sentiment. But if your desire is to see deep into the secret ways of an English mind or wander in fancy by quiet hedgerows in middle March, you cannot do better than study Thomas. He is one of those rare writers (too rare, in our time) who can be read with greater enjoyment at the tenth sitting than at the first. His intellectual reaction when brought into contact with natural surroundings is well illustrated in his poem "Wind and Mist":

"Sixty miles of South Downs, at one glance.
Sometimes a man feels proud of them, as if
He had just created them with one mighty thought."

and again in "The Word":

"While perhaps I am thinking of the elder scent
That is like food, or while I am content
With the wild rose scent that is like memory."

He loved the concrete, the simple, immutable things of life that last through all ages in "that season of bliss unchangeable," as he himself has said.

Whenever circumstances allowed he tramped the country through, the call of his nature echoing very clearly the words of Professor Houseman :

“ Possess, as I possessed a season,
The counties I resign.”

By Oxfordshire hedges, along the roads of Wales, and on Sussex Downs, much wisdom was instilled into him. He once saw a butterfly alight on a stone. A trivial event, no doubt. Yet let us read his description of it and we may alter our opinion :

“ From aloft
He took the heat of the sun, and from below
On the hot stone he perched contented so,
As if never a cart would pass again
That way : as if I were the last of men
And he the first of insects to have earth
And sun together and to know their worth.”

In “ Sedge Warblers ” he speaks lovingly of “ the small brown birds ” who endlessly reiterate truths too foreign for human understanding, wisdom that “ no man learnt yet, in or out of school.”

True enough, his art is intensely personal, yet his very personality is bound up inseparably with English thought and emotion. His character was full of apparent inconsistencies. He could be proud, yet he was a man of genuine humility. His was such a reticent nature that we are at first apt to express surprise at his many great friendships. To his fellows he seemed very strong, and in the war, undeniably brave—yet he himself knew his lack of self-sufficiency and realised his own fundamental weakness. His poems are, as most good poetry is, permeated with unavoidable melancholy ; yet his humour was too strong for sentimentality ever to render the pangs of creation vain. No other country than England could possibly have bred the particular kind of talent that Thomas gave us.

The two writers of whom I have written are conspicuous in these days of cheap literary sensationalism for their complete indifference to social success and the amenities of the town. One cannot discover the intimate life of a nation in its ball-rooms. Lady Margherita has lost her pearls in the vestibule of her London hotel. Might not that lurid catastrophe have taken place with equal misfortune in Vienna or Venezuela? Life is always more real when there is work in it, and struggling, and tears. It is merely because they are uninteresting people that we are so bored by the spoilt children of luxury. How we are weary of Mr. Aldous Huxley's limply lascivious puppets, and how unimaginable a world inhabited solely by the facile creations of Mr. Michael Arlen. He who would study England must first learn of her from those rare spirits who have watched her and loved her, and grown to understand.

Narrowing our confines to London, we may note a contemporary novelist, once popular but now somewhat out of favour, who, whatever his faults in characterisation and story-telling, is nevertheless well worth recommending to those who know not London. He is Mr. H. C. Compton Mackenzie. I recall few books with the power of reviving old memories in me so surely as "Sinister Street" and "Carnival." Michael Fane, I reluctantly admit, almost reduced me to tears, but the atmosphere of these novels is unmistakable. What reader who knows Chelsea Reach can fail to see rain shining on the lamp-lit parapets or to feel the comfortable quiet of Cheyne Walk when he is told of Michael's residence in Chelsea?

In the pages of Mr. Thomas Burke we find an impossibly grim, sin-shadowed London. His heroes "hang-out" in Limehouse or are to be found prowling around Dockland at midnight. Yet they reveal to us with unimpeachable accuracy much of the squalor, the merriment, and the omnipresent irony of the conditions around them. Mr. Burke has drawn his materials from life itself and knows, despite the bizarre adventures of his puppets, the basic truth of the fantastic tales he tells us.

Mr. Stephen Graham is of a vastly different calibre; he has always been in deep sympathy with, and is the self-chosen spokesman of, the poor. "Under-London" is the quietly effective history of a little group of London boys from their earliest schooldays to the time of their faring forth into the World.

"The boy who was meant to be an explorer—became a commercial traveller. The boy who was meant to be an engineer—to-day sells machinery and spare parts. One boy had the pluck to take great risk—he is a clerk in an insurance office. And the hero, the hundred-per cent. boy, sits in Embankment Buildings. There is a tide which leads to fortune, but he sits watching on the Embankment, and never a ship comes in or sails beyond those horizon-bridges to take him to the world."

The Englishman is a patient fellow, and though it may never be his lot to echo the words of William Morris:

"But lo. the old inn, and the lights and the fire,
And the fiddler's old tune and the shuffling of feet;
Soon for us shall be quiet and rest and desire,
And to-morrow's uprising to deeds shall be sweet."

yet he will go on with his penmanship or his ploughing, while nations wax and wane, never wholly dejected though rather apt to grumble, always enjoying his meagre annual holidays to the full; and so living, in short, much the same life all round as simple old Father Hodge before him.

F. V. WELLS

DREAMING

I have been dreaming,
Dreaming of thee...
A snow-breasted woman
Under a tree.
Where fields were a-flutter
With crimson and gold,
When Love was a story
Yet to be told.
Streamlets were singing
Away on a hill,
Flaming with rose-fire
And bright daffodil.
When eyes...lips...and bosom,
Swam in mine eyes,
Could I remember ..
And show no surprise ?
When fingers were clutching
Holding me close,
When sweet lips surrendered
The passion that rose.
Fierce sunbeams flinging
Gold midst the trees,
Thrushes...mad Love-birds...
In song at our knees !
Eyes to eyes shining,
Lips all afraid,
Love in its glory,
A man and a maid !
Oh ! we were happy
That day in June,
But life has its sorrows...
We parted at noon !
You may forget, Dear,
And show no surprise,
But I shall remember
O ! Beautiful Eyes !

LELAND J. BERRY

PRESENT TENDENCY OF TURKISH FOREIGN POLICY

In discussing the foreign policy of a nation, it is imperative to keep in mind the internal condition of the country which always affects its foreign relations in the same way as the world situation affects a nation's internal conditions. Thus the present tendency of Turkish Foreign Policy is the expression of the internal condition of Turkey and the attitude of the Powers towards the Ottoman Republic.

The attitude of the Western Powers towards the Ottoman Empire, for more than a century, was to expel the Turks from Europe and to appropriate Turkish possessions in Europe as well as in Africa and Asia amongst themselves in various ways. It was the jealousy of the Western Powers that prevented them from accomplishing it. This attitude of the Western Powers created a feeling among the Turkish patriots that they should concentrate their efforts to strengthen Turkish Power so that it would be able to withstand all attack or pressure from outside. Thus to Turkish patriots it became evident that for the self-preservation of the Turkish State and National Independence thorough-going changes were required in the internal condition and administration of Turkey. This spirit was the foundation of the revolutionary movement in Turkey before and during the regime of the late Sultan Abdul •Hamid. Therefore one may say that the movement for Turkish Revolution, under the leadership of the Young Turks was a movement for Turkish self-defence, national assertion and national regeneration.

When a ruler of a country and his advisers make a common cause with the patriots of the country to bring about a change in the national administration for the progress of the people, then the desired Revolution takes place without blood-shed and within a very short space of time. This is so because the best efforts of the patriots, in such favourable circumstances, can

be used for constructive purposes and not in combating oppositions from within and without. The Revolution in Japan under the enlightened Emperor Meiji is the classic example of this. Furthermore the progressive, political, social and economic revolutions (in a peaceful way) which are taking place in Afghanistan under the leadership of His Majesty King Amanullah confirm the above-mentioned theory. Even in India we find a progressive ruler like the Maharajah of Mysore, under the most adverse circumstances of direct and alien control, has brought about admirable changes for the benefit of the people. Unfortunately for Turkey, the Young Turks (like the Young Persians and Young Chinese) had to contend with rulers who were less anxious to promote the welfare of the people than to serve their own personal ambitions. The Young Turks found in Abdul Hamid a ruler determined to crush the Young Turk Movement at any cost and to establish his autocratic rule on a firmer basis, with external support and co-operation of reactionaries within the Ottoman Empire.

To crush the Young Turk Movement and to maintain his own absolute rule on a firmer footing, Abdul Hamid developed a Foreign Policy for Turkey which was for a time very effective. The outstanding features of Abdul Hamid's Foreign Policy were ; (1) encouragement of the Pan-Islamic movement, not only within the Ottoman Empire in Europe, Africa and Asia, but all over the world ; (2) playing upon the jealousies of the Western Powers in every possible way ; and (3) encouraging German penetration of Turkey and seeking German co-operation in building up a strong army.

It is not always very easy to abandon the course of Foreign Policy of a country which has been pursued for a certain length of time, because by pursuing a certain course in international relations a nation becomes so involved in commitments that it becomes somewhat difficult for it to disentangle itself in spite of serious efforts. So when the Young Turks came into power, after the overthrow of Abdul Hamid, although they followed a

different path regarding the internal reforms of the country, they could not at once abandon the abovementioned three cardinal principles of Abdul Hamid's Foreign Policy. Here it may be remarked that *an internal Revolution does not always mean a "change in the foreign policy of a country."*

The Western Powers extended nominal moral support to the Young Turks but they were at heart opposed to a strong Turkey. Thus to put obstacles in the way of internal reforms and reconstruction of Turkey, they directly and indirectly attacked the integrity of the Ottoman Empire in various ways—annexation of Bosnia and Herzegovina, the Turco-Italian War and the Balkan Wars—in violation of the Treaty of Berlin (1878). *Actual "isolation of Turkey in World Politics" was the real cause of the loss of Ottoman territories in Africa and Europe by these Wars.* The Triple Entente, jealous of an increase of German influence in Turkey, especially in Asiatic Turkey, was determined to cripple Turkey and convinced the Young Turks that Germany and Austria were not in a position to extend their aid to Turkey in her serious difficulties.

Just before the World War, the Young Turks followed two cardinal principles in their relations with the outside world :—(1) that Turkey should have an offensive and defensive alliance with a group of Western Powers so that she would not find herself completely isolated in World Politics, but, on the contrary, would receive support from her allies in case of an attack ; and (2) that Turkey should get rid of the so-called " capitulations " which hindered her in every move for internal and administrative reforms of the country. The Young Turks continued to adhere to the policy of Pan-Islamism for the sole purpose of securing support of the Moslem World to gain the objects mentioned above.

It is generally asserted by those who are not well informed in the working of the Turkish Foreign Policy, before the World War, that the Young Turks were pro-German. But the fact was that these Turkish patriots were neither pro-German nor pro-English;

they were pro-Turkish in the broadest sense of the term. They were favourably inclined to Germany because they saw that from the geographical position of the German Empire, as well as the then existing World conditions, the German Government could not afford to start on the adventure of annexing a part of the Ottoman Empire. But when Germany could not stop Austria from annexing Herzegovina and Bosnia (which was carried out against the sanction of Germany but through a secret Russo-Austrian understanding), and later on Austria and Germany failed to check Italy (one of the partners of the Triple Alliance) from taking the aggressive against Turkey, some of the Young Turk statesmen became dubious of the value of German friendship. They were willing to sign an alliance with the Triple Entente group (especially with France and Great Britain) if the latter could give them a guaranty of support against possible Russian attack against Turkey. The late Djama! Pasha's Memoirs makes it definitely clear that as France and England were committed to support Russia in annexing certain parts of the Ottoman Empire and thus could not give any guaranty for the territorial integrity of the Ottoman Empire, the only alternative left to the Young Turk statesmen to adopt was the conclusion of an offensive and defensive alliance with Germany on condition that the latter renounced her rights of "capitulations."

As a logical consequence of the Pan-Islamic policy, the Young Turks declared "Jihad or Holy War" of the Islamic World against the Entente. To be fair to the Turkish statesmen, it should be recorded that they did not expect much from this move. They thought it might create certain embarrassments to the Entente Powers. But British support to the cause of the Arab Revolt and French assistance to the Syrians more than neutralised "the Jihad move." *It made the Young Turks fully realise the fact that the urge of political and economic interests are far more powerful than religious fanaticism. It also made them realise that support from a group of Western*

Powers is more valuable than the dubious aid of the Islamic World. Therefore when the Turkish patriots under the leadership of Mustafa Kamal Pasha defied the Versailles Treaty, they were not concerned about Pan-Islamic support. But they concentrated their efforts to secure Russian and French support against the Greeks and the British. With success in the battle-fields and the Lussan Conference, Turkish patriots not only secured their national independence but removed the existing drawbacks of the "Capitulations."

Establishment of a republic and abolition of the Khalifate by the Young Turks have a special significance in Turkey's present foreign policy. It means that Turkey has given up the ambition of making herself as the leader of the Pan-Islamic movement. *Any programme of Pan-Islamism is opposed to the interests of France, Russia, Italy as well as Great Britain; because these colonial Powers have millions of Moslem subjects and if Turkey actively engaged herself in aiding the movement for liberation of the enslaved Moslem peoples, she could never secure support from any of these Powers.* Impotent and subjugated Moslem peoples were of no value to Turkey; and Turkish statesmen had to think first of Turkish independence and to look for support among free and independent nations which had the power to aid her in times of difficulty.

Since the Young Turk Revolution, for about twenty years the Turkish nation had to carry on continued wars just to preserve its existence. Turkey needs peace and thus opportunity to re-organise the country on a sounder basis. She can secure peace and security for herself by making herself a factor in world politics and at the same time making it clear to all nations that the Turkish people are anxious to follow a policy of peace, although they are ready to fight to the last to maintain their national independence.

Turkish statesmen are thus pursuing a "pro-Turkish" and independent foreign policy of establishing cordial relations with all Powers which are interested in her programme of Turkish

independence and peace. This attitude of Turkish statesmen does not allow them to be blindly "pro-Russian," "pro-French," "pro-Italian," "pro-English," or even "pro-Asian." Turkey has signed a neutrality treaty with the Government of Soviet Russia, but *Turkish statesmen refuse to put all their diplomatic eggs in the Russian basket.* That very reason has prompted them to sign special agreements and alliances with Afghanistan and Persia. Turkey has established very cordial and close relations with Afghanistan, Persia and Russia, but this fact does not mean she is following a policy hostile to other powers. The signing of the Turco-Italian neutrality treaty and Turkish efforts to establish cordial relations with Greece show that Turkish statesmen are anxious to promote peace in and around the Mediterranean zone.

The following statement of Mahmud Bey, Deputy for Seerd and Government spokesman on foreign affairs, as reported from Constantinople, June 22, by the special correspondent of the *London Times*, gives a very clear explanation of Turkish Foreign Policy :—

"The pacts recently concluded with Italy and Afghanistan have been followed by a protocol with Persia (signed in Teheran on June 15). It may be expected that the negotiations which have been long proceeding in Angora between Turkey and Persia concerning frontier questions will now soon be brought to a satisfactory conclusion. It is necessary to point out that the fact that Turkey maintains the friendliest relations with Russia, Persia and Afghanistan does not signify that she is pursuing a special and independent policy in the Orient. The treaty which has been concluded with Italy should serve to dispel any such idea. Further, with the probable early conclusion of a Turco-Greek pact, the Turkish-Greek-Italian *rapprochement* will greatly contribute to security in the Mediterranean, just in the same way that the Turkish-Persian-Afghan front is important in so far as the security and defence of the Orient are concerned."

Furthermore, it has been practically reported from Athens as well as Vienna, although unconfirmed by Turkish authorities, that during the recent visit of Rushdi Bey, the Turkish Foreign Minister, to Geneva, negotiations for a commercial treaty and treaty of friendship between Great Britain and Turkey have been started. If Turkey can settle her outstanding troubles with Greece and with the existing Italo-Turkish Neutrality Treaty, it will not be very difficult for Turkey to come to a friendly understanding with Great Britain. Efforts to secure American support will further aid Turkey internationally. Turkey is cultivating friendly relations with some of the Balkan States, especially Hungary; and at the same time Turkey is not unmindful of establishing close friendship with Japan and China as well as Germany.

Turkish statesmen believe in Asian Independence, but they do not believe that it can be accomplished through Pan-Islamism or entirely through Turkish agitation or aid. Turkish statesmen sympathise with the subject peoples or oppressed nationalities, but they know that the thing that counts the most in the present state of evolution of the Turkish Republic is the friendship of the powerful nations and they are not willing to antagonise powerful Western nations simply to please the "oppressed peoples" who are not willing to fight for their own national independence.

In short, Turkey has abandoned the fruitless Pan-Islamic policy and is pursuing the policy of enlightened peace with all nations which may not stand in the way of Turkish national integrity and aspirations.

TARAKNATH DAS

POEMS OF INDIA

I Back to India.

Out in the Bay, the red-sailed fishing-boats
Trail phosphorescent streamers in their wake
At evening, and flying-fishes flutter
Above the blue-green waves like sprites at play.
Out in the Bay, the golden moon lights up
A fairy pathway to the dreaming shores
Where low dark palms etch lacey edges on
The purple breast of star-enspangled sky.
Out in the Bay, I listen and hear the
Drums, throbbing the rhythm of India's old
Familiar songs, calling me back again
To all the bitter-sweet of tropic life.
Out in the Bay, a thrill comes to my heart
As one who answers to a magic spell
And follows blindly in a secret urge
To taste the glamour of the East once more.

II. Stevedore Coolies.

When steamers slowly come to rest
In busy docks, on India-side,
And solid earth is reached at last,
Small brown men clamber, like a tide
Of teeming ants, along the quay.
Loud-voiced and cheerful stevedores they,
In scanty loin-cloths, turbanded
In white, all ready for the fray.
Amazed, we watch them work and sing,
Undaunted by the tropic sun,

Oblivious of the stranger stares,
They toil until their work is done.
Their world is India, and their part
In her vast life is labour's call;
But humble children of the soil,
Yet is their strength and brawn not all
They know of her;—for when the night
Is come, with leisured hours of peace,
Perchance in dreams they dwell with Kings
And know all joys, in sleep's release.

III. The Taj Mahal Hotel.

Great white caravanserai,
Looking outward towards the Bay,
Pillared and latticed and cool,
We come to you, all weary, worn,
And travel-stained, from the sea;
The travellers, the strangers,
To India's spacious gate-way.
Great white marbled porticos,
Shadowed and so inviting,
With growing palms and wicker,
And the cheerful clink of ice
On frosted glasses, we gathered,
Men and women from the earth's
Far ends, to rest in your broad arms.
Great white caravanserai,
I shall always think of you,
Recalling those early years
When I too came from the sea
And my own dear and distant home
Out-bound on a perilous quest
Of unknown life in alien lands.

IV. On Malabar Hill.

Rising in flowered-terraces,
Above the crescent of the Bay,
Climbs verdant Hill of Malabar,
In tropic blossom, bright and gay.
In graceful silhouette, palm-clad,
There far below us, lies the town,
All boldly etched against the sky
From Malabar, where we look down.
How lovely, dreaming in the sun,
Is this fair scene beneath our eyes,
And yet death stalks on Malabar
Grim, though hid in fair disguise.
In palm-trees vultures stand and wait
The gruesome feast from Towers dark
Where dead are laid, on Malabar,
And bones are picked all white and stark.
A garden blooms upon the Hill
Where many fragrant flowers are,
There one may walk and muse on life,
Or death, 'tis one, on Malabar!

LILY S. ANDERSON

CHRISTINA FORBES

The Triangle met every Sunday, and generally the rendezvous was at my aunt's house in Richmond. That was when we did not turn a restaurant into a tryst. Both the Richmond house and the restaurant had many charms of their own. At Richmond we did too much of Society gossip and in the restaurant we ate more than we talked. And very often after the restaurants there followed the Sunday Albert Hall Concerts. The Triangle consisted of my aunt, Mary a great friend of ours, and myself. The Triangle endeavoured to outdo each other in talking, so the result was that we all three, ensemble, talked. On this particular Sunday my aunt and myself were talking and anticipating Mary's arrival any moment. At length we saw the tall figure of Mary walking on the pavement. She was dressed in a very chic pale blue French hat, which had innumerable black feathers and her slim figure was clad in a dark blue cloak. She saw us and I expect my arriving there first excited her to such an extent that she actually entered the house through the left gate on which was painted in big white letters: "Tradesmen's Entrance."

After the Triangle was settled down my aunt, with the abrupt way she had, said to Mary—

"I was very sorry to hear from you about Christina Forbes. But before I got your letter I read about her in the papers. It was all terribly sad."

I stared at my aunt and then at Mary. What was all this about Christina Forbes? Had anything happened to her? Why, I met the girl only the other day at Chorley Wood when Mary and Christina made me comfortable and fed me so well, that with our usual Society gossip I had spent a most happy day at Chorley Wood. After luncheon, we had ambled out into the woods and had plucked violets—lovely, delicate violets.

There were carpets of them in the woods. And we had taken snapshots and everything we did on that day at Chorley Wood seemed to be very jolly and unsophisticated. I can define the nature of Christina Forbes with two adjectives. She was excessively sensitive and she was very prudish. She was prudish in this way. She liked everything that was proper. I do not know what she meant by the word "proper." I expect she meant everything that was "Victorian." And so, of course, to please her we tried and behaved as if we were in the eighties and as if we were old people come out to holiday at Chorley Wood. I met Christina Forbes for the first and the last time at Chorley Wood. She was living with Mary for the whole summer. Mary met me at the little wooden station and gave me a gist of her friend's characteristics and nature.

That day I therefore could not entertain Mary with my risqué stories but told her a few in the interim when we walked from the station to the little cottage. Christina Forbes was a dainty, little, fairhaired girl. She had passed a dentist's examination and I believe after that Summer she contemplated setting up by herself. She shared the cottage with Mary for it was a sort of a holiday for her, though every morning she took the train to Baker Street and worked somewhere in Town with a dentist. Mary gave me to understand that Christina Forbes did not get on with her parents. I think that is the greatest tragedy of life—there are so many parents who do not understand their children and so, of course, the entire life is a long chain of unhappiness for both parties. I believe Mary had then told me that Christina's mother was ever worrying her for money. And the slightest mental pain and worry upset Christina—tremendously as she was so sensitive. And if one happened to say anything that was risqué she went red all over and blushed so much that you thought she would catch fire at once!.....So when I heard on that Sunday at Richmond that something had happened to Christina I turned to my aunt and Mary!

"What has happened to Christina Forbes?"

They were both silent and looked at each other. Then my aunt told me:

"She is dead."

"Good God! dead! Quite hale and hearty only the other day at Chorley Wood! When did she die?"

"You forget that it is over a month since your visit to Chorley Wood," Mary said.

"Where did she die?"

"In a boarding house, sometime during the last week."

"Why did you not let me know?" I asked Mary.

Her jovial face now was so sad and she looked most wistful.

"I could not let you know. I was so upset," she spoke slowly.

We did not speak much. I could not speak. It was so awful. She was so full of hopes and she had all the impetuosity of youth. She was sure she would do well and then she had said she need not live with her people. She would have a cottage in the country and now—she was dead.

The luncheon that Sunday was what I call a 'mock' lunch. We tried to laugh and talk but our laughter and conversation to-day was feeble. After lunch my aunt left us alone and retired for her usual afternoon nap. Mary and myself were sitting out in the Italian loggia and we watched the sunbeams kiss the jade green of the lawns. I faced Mary and asked her deliberately—

"How did Christina Forbes die?"

Mary was silent. She did not speak.

"How did she die?" I again asked, this time more firmly.

Mary turned round to me, "Need you know?"

"Yes."

"Adi, Christina Forbes killed herself."

"God! Why did she do that?"

"She was worried—very worried. You know how sensitive she was. She felt she could not absolutely live any longer as her mother always harassed her. I pitied

her with all my heart and thought that these family troubles would gradually kill Christina. At length I set out for her boarding house. I went in. My heart beat wildly and I managed to ask the porter who the lady was that had killed herself.

‘Miss Forbes is her name, Ma’am.’

I rushed out of the house as if I had seen the dead body of Christina Forbes in all its horror. There was the post mortem. How dreadful it all sounded! The living with their charity insult the dead by declaring that a person is of unsound mind if suicide is committed. She had made her will by which she gave everything she died possessed of—clothes, books and money—to her sister. The doctor and Christina Forbes were all alone in the room. I felt I was going mad and every evening I walked up and down on the pavements for hours until I felt I did not know my own self.”

Mary and I faced each other. We were silent.

ADI K. SETT

THE CLOUDS

I would like to float with you in the skyey regions menacing the glory of the planetary system. From my window I see the July sky and gaze at the wild beauty and the natural spontaneity of your movement. You come swimming from afar and stop where you please. You romp about in the vast expanse of infinite space. At your appearance nature attires herself in her richest robes. She waits with anxious concern for your arrival. All noise is hushed into silence and she listens with close attention to the hurried footsteps of your approach. When you come tumbling upon her, she bows in low obeisance and holds on her head the liquid dust of your holy feet.

Your birth and dissolution alike are still a mystery to me. I have heard of the sea in her dalliance with the solar rays giving birth to you. The sun out of natural affection for his offspring retires from his kingdom, leaving the upper world for your merriment. Your play makes the sleepless winds come out of their sheltering caves and set up a glorious mirth. Poor mortals look at your sport with bewilderment. The swift and overpowering brilliance of the lightning followed by deafening thunder-claps with the howling screams of the winds bespeak the wild exuberance of your delight. At your sight the sea swells up with natural pride and calls you in endearing terms by throwing up mighty columns of water. Like a sportive child, feeling the warmth of new life in every limb, you try to elude her fingers at first but her insistent persuasion brings you to her bosom.

No doubt your presence in the sky dims our mortal vision and a sinning heart trembles with fear at the loud crash of your thunderous peals. For a time you seem to shake the very foundations of the hoary-headed mountains. But when your rent-up force is exhausted you disappear filling me with as

much astonishment as when you appear with the grand paraphernalia of thunder, lightning and rain.

Immediately after you pass away the blue vault of the heaven appears bluer, the bright radiance of the planets shine brighter, the serene outlook of nature becomes serener and I breathe a purer and cooler atmosphere. The majestic display of your power mocks the dull pomp of our life. To me you are the symbol of the evanescence of this life with its transient glories.

RASRANJAN BASU

NIGHT-THOUGHTS

Out of the star-lit silence
Sleep falls like a cloak,
Wrapped in a silver raiment
And the scent of blue wood smoke.
Beautiful dream-thoughts linger,
Wonderful, deathless things,
Flying across my vision
On joyous ecstatic wings.
Prayers that I kneel to murmur
May I always have strength to keep
For my prayers are but faithful love-thoughts
Of thee, 'ere I fall asleep.

LELAND J. BERRY

DEVELOPMENT OF NEGRO POETRY

• " Yet do I marvel at this curious thing :
To make a poet black, and bid him sing ! "

Countee Cullen.

It is a far cry from the classical tradition of Phillis Wheatley to the realistic modernism of Langston Hughes. The former was strongly influenced by Pope ; the latter is influenced by himself as representing the Negro race with its undercurrent of protest. Phillis Wheatley was an African who had the good fortune to be adopted by the family to whom she was sold in 1761. She was virtually free even to the extent of making a trip to London where she was patronised by the Countess of Huntingdon. She is usually regarded as the *doyen* of Negro poetry, her predecessor, Jupiter Hammon, a slave, having rarely, though ambitious enough, risen above doggerel. Pope in Ep. 4 to the Earl of Burlington says :—

" Bid harbours open, public ways extend,
Bid temples, worthier of the God ascend ;
Bid the broad arch the dangerous flood contain,
The mole projected break the roaring main ;
Back to his bounds their subject sea command,
And roll obedient rivers through the land ;
These honours, Peace to happy Britain brings,
These are imperial works and worthy kings."

And Phillis Wheatley :—

" For now kind heaven, indulgent to our prayer,
In smiling peace resolves the din of war.
• Fixed in Columbia her illustrious line,
And bids in thee her future council shine.
To every realm her portals opened wide,
Receives from each the full commercial tide.

Each art and science now with rising charms,
 Th' expanding heart with emulation warms.
 E'en Great Britannia sees with dread surprise,
 And from the dazzling splendors turns her eyes."

Comment is needless ; but this extract is of interest as showing a conscientious effort to emulate an eighteenth century English poet, combined with an optimistic attitude of thanksgiving for a pacific atmosphere. Phillis Wheatley died in 1784 and George M. Horton, who composed poetry verbally before he could write (1829-65) also fell under the influence of Pope. Both he and Phillis Wheatley showed a religious strain in their work and Horton was largely inspired by Wesley :—

" Creation fired my tongue !
 Nature thy anthems raise ;
 And spread the universal song
 Of thy Creator's praise."

James Madison Bell, a friend of John Brown, was an eloquent speaker and reader. Frances E. W. Harper voices, the eternal lament

" All that my yearning spirit craves,
 Is bury me not in a land of slaves."

We come, then, to the most famous of all Negro poets, Paul Laurence Dunbar, who fell into " the last dear sleep whose soft embrace is balm " (in 1906), when only thirty-four years of age, a victim of tuberculosis. He, too, visited England in 1897 and, in his own country, was fortunate in the enjoyment of the interest and assistance of prominent literary men. He has a beautiful lyric quality

" Dream on, for dreams are sweet :
 Do not awaken !
 Dream on, and at thy feet
 Pomegranates shall be shaken.
 The wind is soft above,
 The shadows umber.
 (There is a dream called Love.)
 Take thou the fullest slumber !"

And the lift of "Love's Phases" is like the fitting rhythm of a Red Admiral in summer sunshine.

" Love hath the wings of the butterfly,
Oh, clasp him but gently,
Pausing and dipping and fluttering by
Inconsequently.
Stir not his poise with the breath of a sigh;
Love hath the wings of the butterfly."

In sterner style is his "Ode to Ethiopia"—

" Be proud, my Race, in mind and soul,
Thy name is writ on Glory's scroll
In characters of fire.
High 'mid the clouds of Fame's bright sky
Thy banner's blazoned folds now fly,
And truth shall lift thee higher."

Compare this with Countee Cullen's

" What is Africa to me:
Copper sun or scarlet sea,
Jungle star or jungle track,
Strong bronzed men, or regal black
Women from whose loins I sprang
When the birds of Even sang?
*One three centuries removed
From the scenes his father loved,
Spicy grove, cinnamon tree,
What is Africa to me?"*

and its ensuing confession of inability to conform inwardly to the conventions of civilization, though following them outwardly. Whether Dunbar had also at heart a racially antagonistic feeling is a debatable point. Outwardly, at all events, he was an optimist with a strong sense of humour, following the truth of his own saying that "a moan is the finest of foils for laughter." His dialect poems are a joy for ever, more popular, I believe, in America than his serious work. "When Lucy Backslid," "Temptation," "Angelina," "Expectation"

are superb examples of that type of humour (peculiar to the Negro race) which even years of slavery failed to kill among his countrymen—

“ Y’ ought to hyeah dat gal a-wa’blin’,
Robins, la’ks, an’ all dem things,
Heish dey moufs, an’ hides dey faces
When Malindy sings.”

Countee Cullen is evidently of the opinion that Dunbar’s humour was but a cloak of pride for a broken heart. Hear his epitaph

“ Born of the sorrowful of heart,
Mirth was a crown upon his head;
Pride kept his twisted lips apart
In jest, to hide a heart that bled.”

George Marion McClellan’s “ Gay Hollyhocks with Flaming Bells ” conveys an atmosphere which might be that of the English countryside—

“ Sweet-scented winds move inward from the shore,
Blythe is the air of June with silken gleams,
My roving fancy treads at will once more
The golden Path of dreams.”

The eternal cry of the older generation is voiced by Daniel Webster Davis in “ Stickin’ to de Hoe ” from his “ Weh Down Souf ”

“ Dar’s mighty things a-gwine on,
Sense de days when I wuz young,
An’ folks don’t do us dey did once,
Sense dese new times is kum ;.....”

The Rev. Charles R. Dinkins is an advocate for international unity.

“ ...We must share the rights of others,
Dwelling here as kin with kin,
We are black, but we are brothers ;
We are black, but we are men.”

James Mord Allen, a boilermaker by trade, has a calm humour that is admirable. He is excellent in both dialect and more serious poetry. "The Devil and Sis' Viney," an account of the struggle between the flesh and the spirit epitomised under the shapes of St. Paul, and Satan in a village pastor, has a quietly humorous quality that belies irreverence. This theme of the Negro who has "Got 'ligion," seems to be a favourite one with many Negro poets. One of Allen's best dialect poems is "When the Fish begin to Bite"—

"Little kittens in de coal-house ;
 Little chickens in de lot ;
 Greens er comin' in de medder ;
 Sun er shinin' nyelly hot ;
 Gals er wearin' lawn and gingham,
 Lookin' right down scan'lous good,
 Jes' kain't keep f'um actin' frisky ;
 Spring's done hit de neighborhood."

William Stanley Braithwaite is "captive to a dream," an optimistic idealist, a competent critic, and withal somewhat of a mystic. He is striving to gain

"The road that joins the Future and the Past,
 Where I can reach the Ending and Beginning"

Francis Thompson's "...hid battlements of Eternity. Braithwaite's groping after Eternity is born of a definite realization of the ephemeral nature of worldly things.

"This earth is but a semblance and a form
 An apparition poised in boundless space."

Many poets have discovered ethereality but Braithwaite's dreams are woven on a flexible loom that allows for the gentle undulation of his poetic threads of thought. At times he drowns with his head in Nature's lap

"Long drawn, the cool, green shadows
 Steal o'er the lake's warm breast,
 And the ancient silence follows
 The burning sun to rest."

The calm of a thousand summers,
 'And dreams of countless Junes,
 Return when the lake-wind murmurs
 Thro' golden August noons."

Again he is a sprightly Pan O'dreams, chasing the cycle of the years, in his very swiftness a counterblast to Hamlet's "petty pace,"

"To-day and to-morrow, and the days that come after,
 Springtime and summer and two seasons more ;
 The night full of tears and the day full of laughter,
 And dreams that come in and go out of the door."

Both Joseph Seaman Cotter, Senior, and Joseph Seaman Cotter, Junior, produced some good work. Cotter, Junior, had he not died young (in 1919, aged 24) would probably have been a more brilliant poet than his father. He is notable as being the author of a free-verse poem "And What Shall You Say," free-verse being somewhat of a rarity in Negro poetry. He has a happy way with similes. Rain is described as "slender silvery drum-sticks" and in the particular little poem from which I quote, there is an echo of the message-drums of Africa that seems to beat a wild tattoo in one's brain.

Cotter, Senior, founded the Coleridge-Taylor School. His "Destiny," in memory of his son is pathetically simple and simply pathetic.

"O my way and thy way
 And life's joy and wonder,
 And thy day and my day
 Are cloven asunder."

He protests that the Negro "does not ask to clog the wheels of state." Dunbar in his "Death Song" expressed a wish

(which, I believe, was carried out as nearly as was possible), that they should

“Lay me down beneaf de willers in de grass,
Whah de branch'll go a-singin' as it pass
Fu' I t'ink de las' long res'
Gwine to soothe my sperrit bes'
Ef I's layin' 'mong de t'ings I's allus knowed.”

Similarly Fenton Johnson in his “When I Die”—

“When I die my song shall be,
Crooning of the summer breeze ;
When I die my shroud shall be
Leaves plucked from the maple trees;
On a couch as green as moss
And a bed as soft as down,
I shall sleep, and dream my dream
Of a poet's laurel crown.”

Benjamin Griffith Brawley, an idealist who sees beyond the strife and striving, ‘And the hate of man for man,’ eulogises Chaucer “An old man writing in a book of dreams.”

Many of these poets have been ministers or newspaper-writers, sometimes both in turn. Most of them have had a varied career which has included dish-washing, work as elevator-boys, educators, cigar and cigarette-makers, social workers, etc. James Weldon Johnson, who has recently published his “Autobiography of an Ex-coloured Man,” was under the impression as a child that he was white, till an incident at school enlightened him. Thenceforth his attitude changed, yet he is not aggressively racial. His outlook is temperately balanced, but he cannot forget the importation of native labour and its results.

“This land is ours by right of birth,
This land is ours by right of toil;
We helped to turn its virgin earth,
Our sweat is in its fruitful soil.”

Leslie Pinckney Hill sets a creed of four commandments for his compatriots

" We will not hate

... ..
We will not cease to laugh and multiply

... ..
We will not use the ancient carnal tools

... ..
We will not waver in our loyalty."

He, too, has his dream. The Negro, in fact, for all his flashing smile, his flashy clothes, his eternal outward optimism, is a dreamer at heart ; or should one say a brooder? There lies in his eyes, when in repose, a slumbrous quality like the darkness of the sky that preludes thunder. It is the heritage of ancestors, naked and unashamed, primitive and moral, jungle-bound and knowledgeable—of the simple essentials of life. Study Glyn Philpot's wonderful drawing of the head of a Negro. It is all there, the brooding, the poetry, the slumber that is no slumber, but the passivity of Vesuvius before eruption. So, to Pickney Hill,

" Spring's voice comes wandering like some muted tone,
From far-off symphonies....."

And Claude McKay, a Jamaican, an exotic himself, wandering through the Covent Garden of New York is moved by memories stirred to life by the sight of exotic fruits

".....fruit-trees laden by low-singing rills,
And dewy dawns, and mystical blue skies
In benediction over nun-like hills."

He, himself, is stirred in a different fashion, by the spectacle of a lynching, and writes a poem thereon wherein the realism makes one shudder. Realism and idealism, however, run hand in hand,

" Like soft rain-christened sun-shine, as fragile as rare gold lace,
Your breath, sweet-scented and warm, has kindled my
tranquil face,"

Ray Dandridge, Literary Editor of the Cincinnati Journal, writes whilst lying on his back: "Zalka Beetruza (who was christened Lucy Jane)" is a curious piece of work with an equally curious appeal. "Tracin' Tales," in which a villager endeavours to trace the source of gossip anent himself and his girl, and finds it originated at the source from which he set out, is a most amusing dialect poem. The very name of Maffew Pleasan' view is a delight.

The yodel of the Negro is heard in the "Corn Song" of John Wesley Holloway,

" O Miss Julie, Who—ah!
Love me truly, Who—ah!
Who—ah!"

Shelley and Keats would appear to be two of the most beloved of the English poets among the Negroes. There is a poem by James David Corrothers which pays tribute to both—

" Yearned Shelley o'er the golden flame?
Left Keats, for beauty's lure, a name,
But "writ in water"? Woe is me!
To grieve o'er flowerful faery.
My phasian doves are flown so long,
The dream is lovelier than the song!"

Women poets seem to be in the minority amongst the Negroes. Georgia Douglas Johnson, Sarah Collins Fernandis, and Henrietta Cordelia Ray, have endeavoured to carry on the Phillis Wheatley tradition, in quality if not in matter. Georgia Douglas Johnson, the mother of two sons, is the authoress of (among others) a short but powerful poem "The Octoroon,"

" One drop of midnight in the dawn of life's pulsating stream
Marks her an alien from her kind, a shade amid its gleam."

"Little Son" is

" The substance of my every dream,
The riddle of my plight,
The very world epitomized
In turmoil and delight."

Sarrah Collins Fernandis, an ardent social and slum-worker, has, like Benjamin Griffith Brawley, a vision beyond this present state,

" Sometimes a vision flashes out to me
Of more abundant life that is to be ! "

Henrietta Cordelia Ray (d. 1916) questions the secrets of Nature. Dawn creates the ecstasy within her heart. Though unequal in quality she has flashes of beauty as when in " Dawn's Carol " she exclaims

" Such moments for us seem to weave
Hope's loveliest tissues;....."

Jessie Redmond Fauset echoes the anti-slavery feeling when she speaks of her old " mammy " in " Oriflamme "—

" I think I see her sitting bowed and black,
Stricken and seared with slavery's mortal scars,
Reft of her children, lonely, anguished, yet
Still looking at the stars."

On the whole, however, the female section has not produced much worth-while poetry compared with the male community. Of the latter Langston Hughes is the most modern. His work shrieks of jazz and cabaret, of syncopation and gin, of prostitutes and " daddies," and of intolerable weariness and pain beneath the tinsel surface.

" Homesick blues is
A terrible thing to have.
To keep from cryin'
I opens ma mouth an' laughs."

The Spirit of the age in Haarlem ! the bitterness of Carl van Vechten's " Nigger Heaven " !

" Cabaret, cabaret !
That's where we go,
Leaves de snow outside
An' our troubles at de door."

"The Ballad of Gin Mary" is full of gruesome humour, and the "Gal's Cry for a Dying Lover" is genuine pathos,

"Way Down South in Dixie,

(Break the heart of me)

- They hung my black young lover
To a cross-roads tree."

It is not pleasant reading. It is grim, sordid, repulsive; but it expresses a phase of life. It has been said (*vide* "Poetry Review," Jan.-Feb., 1928) that "When Mr. Masfield marked down as his objective 'the dirt and the dross, the dust and the scum of the earth' he set himself a task for which he is absolutely unfitted." Langston Hughes does not shirk the revolting aspects of life, but his staccato method is peculiarly good as a means for their portrayal. He lays his paints on, so to speak, in "dabs" and does not trouble to smooth off the edges,

"Life

For him

Must be

The shivering of

A great drum

Beaten with swift sticks.

Then at the closing hour

The lights go out

And there is no, music at all

And death becomes

An empty cabaret

And eternity, an unblown saxophone

And yesterday

A glass of gin

Drunk long

Ago."

Yet he can invoke God

"Have Mercy, Lord!

Po' an' black

An' humble an' lonesome

An' a sinner in yo' sight.

Have Mercy, Lord!"

Both he and Countee Cullen have in their hearts the desire,

“ To fling my arms wide
 In some place of the sun,
 To whirl and to dance
 Till the bright day is done.
 Then rest at cool evening
 Beside a tall tree
 While night comes gently
 Dark like me.”

But after Hughes' saxophonic qualities Cullen is somewhat restful, though no less restless. He has fallen under the spell of Keats and Conrad, and Dunbar. He is a racial champion,

“ Ambiguous of race they stand,
 By one disowned, scorned of another,
 Not knowing where to stretch a hand,
 And cry “ My Sister ” or “ My Brother.”

A little white boy in Baltimore puts out his tongue and calls him “ Nigger.” That is all he remembers of Baltimore. He has moments of wild beauty as in “ Spring Reminiscence,” and his “ hectic blood” responds to the call of the brown girls. As he himself says,

“ Not yet has my heart or head
 In the least way realized
 They and I are civilized.”

Is this the solution?

GWENDOLINE GOODWIN

LOVE IS LOVE

O, why oppressest thou thy mind
By thinking what's to be
Thy mind's a fool, a speechless child
It uncertain moves, see.
O helpless 'tis in evil's sway,
No sin to mind's unknown,
The highest good it can conceive
By love of saints alone.
In saints true good is shown.
All good and ill are in Love's power
Beyond them shines Love's sweetest bower.
On Love's breast lie with sweetness strewn,
What comes, what goes, blot out—blot out.
And mind shall lose its piercing shout.
When mind's asleep then Love's awake
And naught is left to make, unmake.
This moment thou thy mind unmind
And joy eternal, sweet Love, find !

II

In love assume Love's burden, friend,
Love's course is never smooth,
Of serpents, Love the bite is death
And Love's the cure, in truth.
And Love is Love—more none can tell,
In grief and joy Love's magic spell,
Love lifts thee up to heaven of stars,
Love throws thee down in hell.

Love rolls thee small, love spreads thee large,
Love's air—free, Love's prison—cell,
Love is all and love is one,
Love knows no end, is nev'r begun,
No presence absence Love can know,
Sweet Love is heaven's eternal glow.
The lov'd is Love, and lover be,
Love's eye alone can true Love see.
Man treads on Love as lifeless sod,
And worships Love as all in God !

MOHINI MOHAN CHATTERJI

THE UNITY OF EMPIRE FARMING :

Lessons of the British Royal Show.

The need for organizing the whole of the industries of the Empire as a single unit has been often and rightly emphasised. Agriculture is the oldest and greatest industry of all, yet little attention has hitherto been paid to the need for organising Empire farming as a single unit.

Some time ago, a prominent statesman, a man himself skilled in practical farming, made the remarkable prophecy that the future would see us regarding British farming not as an isolated event, but as part of the vast body of Empire farming as a whole. Would it be too sanguine to regard this year's visit to Britain of a group of farmers from all parts of the Empire as a first tentative step towards a realisation of that mighty prophecy.

These Empire farmers saw much to interest them and not a little to instruct them during their visit. They saw farms, research stations, docks, factories and in fact everything directly or indirectly concerned with their industry. Perhaps their most remarkable experience, however, was the visit to the Royal Agricultural Show—the premier Show in Britain and perhaps throughout the world. At the Show they were the guests at a luncheon given by the great Imperial fertiliser organisation—Messrs. Nitram, Ltd. Apart from this memorable reception their visit to the Show grounds afforded them the opportunity of seeing for themselves how British manufacturers cater for the farming industry in all its branches—in all climes.

The implement yard was particularly interesting as well as instructive, for it reflected the great skill and ingenuity of British Engineers. Progress was apparent on all sides ; here it was represented by improvements on old types of machinery, there by entirely new inventions.

One exhibit of special note was a poultry-plucking machine. By means of this ingenious device a fowl can be cleanly plucked and the plumage gathered together in less than a minute. This labour-saving marvel ought to find a place on all large-scale poultry farms.

Another notable invention was a portable shed or 'bail' which had been used for demonstrating the possibility of milking cows by machinery in the open fields. This shelter was fitted with many automatic labour-saving devices, one of which was for feeding concentrates to those cows giving a superior yield. It is claimed that by this method one man and a boy can quite easily manage a herd of seventy cows.

The group of Empire farmers also saw powerful steam and petrol tractors together with their complementary array of ploughs, cultivators and sub-soilers destined to break in and put to the service of mankind those wide stretches of fertile lands at present practically uncultivated.

Another storehouse of profitable lessons on the need for scientific methods in farming was the stand of the World's Dairy Congress. Here could be seen machines and gadgets useful and profitable to all people occupied in the milk trade. A novelty was a papier-maché tube for the retail distribution of milk. One end of it is closed by means of a metallic compress while the other is temporarily covered with waxed seals. Considering that at the present time the British Empire and the world as a whole is concentrating on solving the problem of producing great quantities of pure milk at low cost, the Dairy Pavilion was probably one of the most attractive exhibits.

No less instructive than the machinery display was the show of seeds, feeding stuffs and fertilisers. British botanists and chemists were equally as eager as the engineers to demonstrate to farmers how much the prosperity of the agricultural industry depended on a free and full co-partnership with science,

The stands of the leading seed merchants and of feeding stuff manufacturers equally recorded big scientific advances. The fertiliser stands were artistic and attractive. There were tableaux showing the new system of Grassland Management in progress and also models of the compared returns of fertilised and unfertilised crops.

Reverting now to the luncheon given by Nitram, Ltd., to the Empire farmers, we find Lord Melchett (formerly Sir Alfred Mond) laying special emphasis on this question of fertilisers in his speech. He is, of course, head of Imperial Chemical Industries, the great chemical combine of which Nitram, Ltd., is a subsidiary, and he said :—

“The future of Empire agriculture is a problem to which my companies and myself have paid a great deal of attention and thought and I should like to indicate what we are doing and what we propose to do to further its development.

“Imperial Chemical Industries, Limited, is engaged in developing large-scale manufacture of fertilisers and at Billingham is promoting a great new national industry of the utmost imperial significance. The plant itself is a great triumph of British engineering and expansion on a large scale is taking place progressively.

“We are also engaged in devising forms of fertilisers to suit the varying requirements of soils and transport conditions occurring throughout the Empire. Our aspiration is to co-operate with the farmers of the Empire, who supply such a large and increasing proportion of the food and raw material requirements of Britain, by providing them with fertilisers which will make their crop-yields larger and more remunerative.

“The success of the production on a large scale of fertilisers depends upon the agricultural prosperity of the Empire, just as the agricultural prosperity of the Empire depends upon the application of fertilisers. In order to achieve this dual object, Imperial Chemical Industries, Ltd., have established

a Research Station and gathered together a staff of research workers under the direction of Sir Frederick Keeble, F.R.S., an eminent authority on agricultural questions. The results of the work of this station and staff are at the disposal of the farming communities of the British Isles and the British Empire.

“As a link and liaison between the farmers of the Empire and the headquarters research staff, the services of Lord Bledisloe, who has such an intimate knowledge of the agricultural problems of Britain and the Empire, are available. Lord Bledisloe is a late Secretary for Agriculture and is himself a practical and experienced agriculturist. We recognise, of course, that the building up of an agricultural organisation in all parts of the Empire must of necessity be a slow and laborious process. Our aim is to study and provide for the needs of all. The research staff must therefore be representative of the Empire, because for advice in agricultural matters to be of economic value, it must be specific and not general.

“We contemplate the creation of a great edifice which should be both serviceable and enduring. It is natural therefore that we shall start our structure in the British Isles, but throughout we shall have before our eyes the needs of the Empire. One of our first steps will be to establish a British agricultural association in order to apply the new principles of grassland management and of applying fertilisers in relation to crop rotations in this country. That association will gradually be extended to other parts of the Empire.

“I have perhaps under-estimated the Empire significance and services of our organisation. Already in Australia, we have a productive capacity and at the present moment a special mission studying the agricultural problems of that great Continent. In South Africa too we have an associated company which produces fertilisers, arranges their sales and distribution, and is in close touch with the ever increasing range of agricultural problems and production in that country.

“ Very fruitful results have already been obtained in this country. I hope that our guests will visit the demonstrations of the new system of grassland management which are being given in different parts of the country. They will thus have the opportunity of judging for themselves on the results which have already been achieved. Modern commerce applied to the most ancient and the largest of all industries will restore prosperity to agriculture and plenty to the peoples of the Empire.”

GILBERT B. HUNTER

CATEGORIES OF SOCIETAL SPECULATION IN EUR-AMERICA WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO ECONOMICS AND POLITICS.

FROM HERDER TO SOROKIN (1776-1928).

CHAPTER I.

THE EPOCH OF INDUSTRIAL REVOLUTION AND ROMANTICISM (c 1776-1832).

(a) *General Theories of Progress.*

Ideology : (1) growth *vs.* status quo, (2) the future is considered to be in the main hopeful.

1784-1790. HERDER (1744-1803) : *Ideen zur Philosophie der Geschichte* (Ideas towards the Philosophy of History). He believes in evolution. Man is declared to be a part of nature. Progress is conceived to be possible.

1793. CONDORCET (1743-1794) : *Tableau du progres de l'esprit humain* (Picture of the Progress of the Human Spirit). Human perfectibility is his slogan. The possibilities of progress are considered to be infinite.

1798. MALTHUS (1766-1834) : *Essay on Population*. Man increases faster than food. Pessimism is the keynote of his investigations.

1830. COMTE (1798-1857) : *Philosophie Positive*. He is an exponent of humanism and reacts against the evils of industrialism. Three stages of progress, *viz.*, theological, metaphysical and scientific, are considered to be manifest in the history of civilisation. Antipathy to *laissez faire* and acceptance of St. Simon indicate his political affiliations.

(b) *East and West.*

1820-26. SCHLEGEL (1772-1845): He is the founder and populariser of romanticism in philosophy. He creates the vogue, among romanticists, of laying undue emphasis on the alleged Oriental spirituality. His Indic studies are to be found in essays and editorial work on the *Rāmāyana* and the *Gītā* (1829); cf. *Indische Bibliothek* (Indian Library), 1820.

1825. HEGEL (1770-1831): *Philosophie der Geschichte* (*Philosophy of History*). In the Orient, says he, the internal law and moral sense are not yet distinguished—still form an undivided unity; so also do religion and the state. The Eastern constitution is generally a theocracy, and the Kingdom of God is to the same extent also a secular kingdom as the secular kingdom is also divine. China, Persia, Turkey,—in fact, Asia generally—is the scene of despotism, and in a bad sense, of tyranny; but in these countries tyranny raises men to resentment. But in India tyranny is normal; for here is no sense of personal independence with which a state of despotism could be compared and which would raise revolt in the soul; nothing approaching even a resentful protest against it is left.

1827. MICHELET (1798-1874): *Precis d'histoire moderne* (Sketch of Modern History). In India man is utterly overpowered by nature, like a feeble child on its mother's breast, alternately spoiled and beaten and intoxicated rather than nourished by a milk too strong and stimulating for it.

(c) *Mental and Moral Personality.*

Ideolog: (1) metaphysics at the service of nation-making and human welfare, (2) dignity of man, (3) freedom, both moral and political, (4) revolution and preparedness for change.

1795. KANT (1724-1804): *Zum ewigen Frieden* (Towards Eternal Peace), *Rechtslehre* (Theory of Right), 1797.

His ethics teaches the "categorical imperative" or duty for its own sake (corresponding to the *niskāma karma* of the *Gita*). In his psychology reason=will, an end in itself, not conditioned by time, space, and causality. Man, because of reason, is a free person, a noumenon. This is the metaphysical basis of Kantian individualism. Man in society is free among the free. "Don't prevent the freedom of others" is the social moral. Non-intervention is to be the policy of the community.

The state secures or rather compels this freedom. The pre-statal condition is a "state of nature" followed by original contract. No state, no wealth.

No resistance is to be allowed against the state. Hobbesian absolutism is the natural consequence. But the state is not to be all-interfering. Kant believes, however, that the republic is the best form when people are ripe.

His economic system recognises a primitive common ownership of land which has been replaced by private. The state is entitled to tax land-owners and corporations in public interest.

Contracts and exchange as well as money have been analyzed somewhat in detail. The ideas are those of Adam Smith. He comes to the conclusion that trade leads to permanent peace and *jus cosmopoliticum*.

Kant's sociology is optimistic enough to assert that all human capacities are destined to be developed. The individual chooses and makes his own happiness. The objective of human endeavour should be to found such a society as will realize law everywhere. Wars are but experiments in the direction of the world-state. Though civilized we are not yet made moral, says he. Experience tells us how things are and have been but does not tell us that they cannot be otherwise in the future.

1796-97. FICHTE (1762-1814) : *Grundlage des Naturrechts* (Foundation of Natural Law), *Der geschlossene Handelsstaat* (The Closed Commercial State), 1800, *Reden an die deutsche*

Nation (Addresses to the German People), 1808; *Rechtslehre* (Theory of Law) 1812.

Even the down-trodden slave is a temple of the Holy Ghost. Revolution is a necessary phase in evolution. The state has responsibilities for the poor. Fichte is thus a pioneer of state-socialism. Philosophical anarchism in a world-state is the goal. He is in favour, however, of propaganda carried on by the state (*cf.* Stein and Humboldt's educational reforms). "The closed state," in which industry and labour are "protected," represents the transitional ideal stage. Exclusion of foreign competition is the essential feature of that state.

1810. MME. DE STAEL (1766-1819) : *De l'Allemagne* (On Germany). She popularizes German thought in France and does for France what Coleridge and Carlyle do later for England. She adopts the word "romantic" from Schlegel, her friend, who coins it to mean "chivalrous and Christian" as characteristic of the "North" in opposition to the "paganism" of the classic South.

1818. BALLANCHE (1776-1847) : *Essai sur les institutions sociales dans leurs rapports avec les idées nouvelles* (Essay on Social Institutions in their relations with New Ideas). He introduces Goethe, Schiller, Herder and Schelling to French literature. He is a romanticist. His faith in "heroes" is Hegelian.

1820. HEGEL (1770-1831) : *Staatslehre* (Theory of the State). Freedom is not complete without the state. He expatiates on the divinity of the state and considers the monarch to be above moral obligations. In his philosophy state interference is a normal phenomenon.

His state is "socialistic" as a matter of course, the antipodes of the Kantian state. The state is considered to be a "natural necessity." It is the absolute reality, and the individual himself has objective existence, truth and morality only in his capacity as a member of the state. World-history is

the world-judgment. The actual is the rational, the rational is the actual (absolute idealism = absolute realism).¹

His dialectic of the conflict between "thesis" and "antithesis" naturally leading to "synthesis" in a cyclical order furnishes the logic of revolution in social, economic and political life.

¹ Bax's *Einfuehrung in die romantische Staatswissenschaft* (Introduction to the Political Science of Romanticism), Jena, 1923, discusses the following topics :

I. The Epoch of Enlightenment (Montesquieu, Rousseau, Adam Smith and Kant).

II. The Prelude to Romanticism (1794-1798) : (1) Fichte's sociology based on his *Lectures on the Opinions of Scholars*, 1794 ; (2) Fichte's political philosophy based on his *Law of Nature*, 1796-97 ; (3) Frederick Schlegel's political philosophy based on his *Meaning of Republicanism*, 1796 ; (4) Goerres's political philosophy based on his *Jacobin Writings*, 1797-1798 ; (5) the influence of Schelling's *Philosophy of Nature*, 1797 ; (6) the Influence of Edmund Burke.

III. Early Romanticism (1798-1814) : (1) Frederick Schlegel's *Romantic Fragments*, 1798-1800 ; (2) Novalis's *romantic Fragments*, 1798-1799 ; (3) the transformation in the ideas of Goerres, 1800 ; (4) Fichte's economics based on *The Closed Commercial State*, 1800 ; (5) Frederick Schlegel's *Philosophical Lectures*, 1854-1806 ; (6) the national problem, 1807-1810 ; (7) Adam Mueller's *Elements of the Political Art*, 1809 ; (8) Adam Mueller's lectures on *King Frederick II*, 1810 ; (9) Adam Mueller's *Essay on a New Theory of Money*, 1816 ; (10) Goerres's political ideal in the *Merkur of Rhineland*, 1814.

IV. Later Romanticism (1818-1880) : (1) Fichte's theocracy based on *Political Philosophy*, 1819 ; (2) Adam Mueller's criticism of capitalism ; (3) Frederick von Gentz ; (4) Ludwig von Haller ; (5) Frederick Schlegel's *Philosophy of Life*, 1827 ; (6) Baader's *Social Philosophy* ; (7) Brentano's religio-social writings, 1827 ; (8) Tieck and the revolution, 1835 ; (9) Eichendorff's political writings, 1818.

CHAPTER II.

THE EPOCH OF DARWINISM

(1832-1870).

(a) *General Theories of Progress.*

Ideology : (1) interpretation of progress with the help of the physical and biological sciences, (2) race-chauvinism a force in theory.

1849. LORENZ VON STEIN : *Der Begriff der Gesellschaft und die sociale Geschichte der franzoesischen Revolution bis zum Jahre, 1830* (The Meaning of Society and the Social History of the French Revolution down to 1830). He believes that class-war is inevitable to-day as it has always been. But reform, not revolution, is according to him the method of progress. Statesmen should accept the demands of the oppressed classes, *e.g.*, communism, socialism, social democracy, etc.

1850-57. SPENCER (1820-1903) : *Social Statics* (1851) adumbrates an utopian, ideal state. He attempts a thorough-going application of physics and also of biology to the problems of politics and morals. The goal of progress is anarchy, the condition of perfect "equilibrium" in a society. Government is the embodiment of evil. If there is to be any state, let it be a mere police-state. He advocates equal freedom, nationalization of land, and feminism. Two stages are indicated in political evolution : (1) military (barbarous), and (2) industrial (civilized). Of the latter the basis is "contract." The state is an organism like an individual.

1856. BUCKLE (1821-62) : *History of Civilisation*. Progress is attained through intelligence and scepticism. The influence of climate on man is enormous. Like Spencer he is anti-statal.

1859. DARWIN (1809-82): *Origin of Species*. Natural selection is the cause of evolution.

1860-70. QUINET (1803-1875) : *La Creation* (Creation). The history of nature and the history of man enlighten each other. Natural history and human history are subject to common laws. The future is to be better and more glorious than the past. History is the unfolding of the spirit of freedom. Like Michelet he upholds democracy in the interpretation of the French revolution in *La Revolution* (1865).

1864. LE PLAY (1806-82) : *La Reforme sociale en France* (Social Reform in France). He is opposed to excessive individualism or *laissez faire*, e.g., that of Leroy-Beaulieu, Bastiat and Chevalier. His opposition to state-socialism is equally strong. He advocates the rights of the "family" and the "gild" but would not allow a return to the "patriarchal" system or medieval gild-economy. The restoration of the now limited freedom of bequest is one of his slogans. The abolition of the equal division of land is another reform in economic legislation demanded by him.

(b) *Racial Dogmatism.*

1853-55. GOBINEAU (1816-82), Frenchman domiciled in Germany : *Inegalite des races humaines* (Inequality of the Human Races). Aryanism (superiority of the white to coloured races) is his fetish. He is anti-democratic in political views

(c) *East and West.*

1815-33. COUSIN (1792-1867) : *Histoire de la philosophie* (History of Philosophy). The epoch of the infinite is the epoch of the East. In the East everything is more or less immobile, industry feeble, the arts gigantic and monstrous, the law of the state fixed and immutable, religion a longing after absorption in the invisible, and philosophy the contemplation of absolute unity. He continues the romanticism of the German philosophy.

1857. BUCKLE (1821-62) : East is different from West. "The tendency of the surrounding phenomena was in India to inspire fear, in Greece to give confidence. In India man was intimidated. In Greece he was encouraged. In Greece everything tended to exalt the dignity of man while in India everything tended to depress it."

(d) *Mental and Moral Personality.*

Ideology : German Idealism Abroad.

1833. COUSIN (1797-1867). *Histoire de la philosophie* He adopts the Hegelian ideas on historical optimism, war, great men, etc. Three regulative principles of reason are enunciated by him : (1) idea of the infinite, unity, substance, absolute, etc., (2) idea of the finite, plurality, phenomenon, conditional, etc., and (3) idea of the relation between the two. There are three historical epochs corresponding to these three ideas.

1836. BARCHOU (1801-57) : *Histoire de la philosophie allemande depuis Leibnitz jusqu'a Hegel* (History of German Philosophy from Leibnitz to Hegel). He presents an appreciative account of idealism, and popularizes the concept that the life of every race is dominated by an idea.

1837. COLERIDGE (1772-1834) : *Spiritual Philosophy*. He expatiates on philosophical necessity and talks of process in human affairs. His ideas on transcendentalism constitute a bridge between German idealism and British romanticism.

1845. CARLYLE (1795-1887) : He preaches the gospel of duty and considers ideals to be embodied in heroes. "Close thy Byron, open thy Goethe" is the prelude to his Germanism. His propaganda against materialism is comprehensive and profound.

1854-64. RENOUVIER : *Essais de Critique Generale* (Essays of General Criticism). In his judgment primitive man cannot be assimilated to the modern savage. It is by the exercise of his liberty that man becomes either truly good or truly evil.

The history of man is the product of the use or abuse of freedom. Progress is possible but neither continuous nor necessary. France still requires to struggle with anxiety if she would even retain the liberties, rights and advantages which she has gained with so much labour and difficulty. He is Kantian in the conception of duty ; cf. *La Science de la morale* (1869).

(*To be continued.*)

BENOYKUMAR SARKAR

YOU

How steep and mighty stands the mountain brow
In all its grandeur and its majesty,
Looking down as condescendingly
On the field as on its conqueror, the plough ;
The rebel waves in angry tumult bow
Before its haughty form, while loftily
It accepts the tribute brought in by the sea
Of drowned mariners and a storm-tossed prow.

But when I look at *your* imperial frown,
And see the hauteur of *your* silent face
And watch the steady light of *your* renown
Every other flickering light displace,
There is no summit, mountain-top or crown
To match your majesty and queenly grace.

BYRAM K. TALOOKDAR

THE DATE OF ZOROASTER.¹

What the Greeks teach on the date of Zoroaster is fantastic : Zoroaster had lived 5 or 6 thousand years before the War of Troy. Ctesias gives another story, but not more precise. In brief, the Greeks have not collected on Zoroaster any exact tradition. As they well knew the Persia of the Achaemenean sovereigns with which they had been in constant communication, this means Zoroastrianism was neither the official religion, nor a religion important to the Persian, properly speaking.

On the other hand, the Zoroastrian church itself has a tradition which is at the same time both precise and plausible. That tradition, found in Pehlvi texts, the *Bundahišn*, the *Arda viraf*, has been subsequently collected by the Arab historians ; the active career of Zoroaster (Zarathuštra, after the Avestan form of the name) had begun 258 years before the era of Alexander ; he belonged then to the second half of the 7th century and the first half of the 6th before Jesus Christ. Zoroaster, born towards 660 before Jesus Christ, according to the correction² of West, had been 42 years old at the time of the conversion of Vištāspa.³ Certainly everything in the Zoroastrian tradition has not the same degree of verisimilitude. But the fact of the conservation in an archaic language as that of the *gāthās* confirms that there is a tradition and authorises (us) not to refuse implicit confidence in the traditional dates.

Cyrus reigned from 558 B.C. to 529 B.C., and Darius I from 521 to 485 B. C. Zoroaster had then preceded slightly the period of the great Achaemenean sovereigns.

¹ Translated from French—a lecture delivered at the Upsala University by Prof. Meillet.

² "A slight chronological correction after Dr. E. W. West." Jackson. Dr. West's translation from Pehlvi texts strengthened the traditional point of view. Jackson dedicates his book "Zoroaster" (1899) to Dr. West.

See Prof. Jackson's book, Appendix II, pp. 150-178.

³ "The Constantine of the Faith"—Jackson.

And, as a result, the religious reform of which one would try to define the character, implies great historical and social movements. The establishment of a vast empire, governed by an absolute king, has been in the Indo-Iranian world, quite a new thing ; undoubtedly it is the result of those same movements to which is due the Zoroastrian sect. This important fact dominates the problem.

A lyrical text, entirely religious, just as the *gāthās* are, is not calculated to furnish historical precision. Nevertheless, the (actual) conditions existing in the epoch when the *gāthās* were composed, come out in the text. Now, these conditions fit in with the traditional date.

The *gāthās* present without cease the burning desire for a political chief to defend the holy doctrine and the believers. Against Vištāspa who practically accepts and protects the Zoroastrian doctrine, there are hostile chiefs, as well as Bəndva,¹ Y. XLIX. 1-2.

The ancient Indo-Iranian regime, then, exists. There was an Aryan nation which had a very strong sense of unity, but there was no chief in whom all the strength was centred. Each tribal chief had the power in his own group.

When the *gāthās* enumerate the political groups—and they do so more than once—they indicate the “house,” the “family,” the “tribe,” and the “province.”

dəmānəm—višəm—sōiθrəm—dahyūm

Y. XXXI. 18 (see also Y. XXXI. 16 ; XLVI. 4). A central line of kings is never considered. Everything passes off as if the great fact of the Achaemenean dynasty had not yet come into being.

To the chiefs of the group, the *gāthās* give only the name “Master of the house” (*dəng paitiš*). But this must have been by chance. The late Avesta has the names of all the chiefs of the group, like the chief of the province, *dahyupaitiš*.

¹ Prof. Jackson questions its being a proper name.

Now, the characteristic trait of Achaemenean epoch is the supreme chief, the *xšāyaθiya xšāyaθiyānām* of the inscriptions, the *βασιλεὺς par excellence* of the Greeks. The *gāthās* do not know of any such supreme chief, a personage practically unknown to the Aryan, as to the Indo-European world.

There is not, then, any reason to believe that the Vištāspa who had protected Zoroaster had anything in common with Vištāspa, father of Darius. In the Achaemenean empire, there had been only a king and his satraps; Vištāspa, father of Darius, was not a sovereign. The Iranian names have a tendency to repeat themselves; just like the Greek proper names, they have been borne by several persons.

In the measure, then, in which a text like the *gāthās* widely different from material realities, rises to give a glimpse of historical things, that state fits in with the traditional date. To speak the truth, it does not exclude a more ancient date. But the possibility of a later date is rendered very slight. Now, as M. Bartholomew has shown, there is nothing to put it higher (at a more ancient date).

In his brochure where he has summed up his views on Zoroaster, Zarathustra's *Leben und Lehre* (Heidelberg, 1924), M. Bartholomew affirms that the traditional date is "surely much too low" (p. 10). But the proof he gives is not convincing.

The name *Mazdaka* figures as early as the 8th century B.C. on an Assyrian inscription to designate a Mede. The most that could be inferred from this is that as early as that, *Mazdā* (h) was the name of the great Iranian god. But nothing in the *gāthās* indicates that Zoroaster had been the first to give that place to *Ahura Mazda* (h). It is not the name of the god which characterises Zoroastrianism. To judge by the text, Zoroaster adores a god commonly admitted. *Ahura* is a common Indo-Iranian

word, the Vedic *Asura* ; and the grouping of Mazdā(h) with Ahura would be decidedly before Zoroaster.

The Achaemenean sovereigns had for their great god A(h)uramazdā. The inscriptions say that distinctly ; but they do not say that A(h)uramazdā, who was the common god of all the Iranians, had been known in the manner peculiar to Zoroaster. One has not then the right to conclude that Zoroastrianism has been the official doctrine of the Achaemenean sovereigns, nor is it necessary to suppose an interval greater than that between 583 B.C., when Zoroaster died according to tradition, and 538 B.C., when Cyrus ascended the throne.

All the alleged proofs rest only on one assumption, which is arbitrary, namely, that before Zoroaster the Iranians had not Ahura Mazdā(h) for their god.

Language bears a satisfactory confirmation of the evidence supplied by tradition.

Tradition teaches that Zoroaster was a native of the North-West of Iran and some texts state precisely, he was born at Raghā (*Ῥάγαι* of the Greeks), then in the neighbourhood of Teheran. Now, if one examines the language of the Avesta in general and of the *gāthās* in particular, one finds immediately at first sight that it differs from Persian, which excludes the South-West, and that it differs also from Sogdien and also from the speech of Khotan of which one has now the texts, actually deciphered, like all the Eastern speeches. The language of the Avesta rests then on the speeches of the North-West. In concluding a searching memoir which he came to publish, *Dialektologie des westiranischen Turfantexte* (in the *Monde Oriental*, Vol. XV, 1921, pp. 184-258; Upsala, 1924), M. Paul Tedesco shows that the Avestan language belongs to the group of the languages of the North-West (p. 255 ff.). The proof is obtained by purely linguistic processes, independent of tradition which it comes also to confirm.

Of little importance, after that, are the indications—all borrowed, moreover, from the late Avesta—following which the

Avesta would be constituted as written in Eastern Iran. Even if they are accurate, they amount to nothing. It is not on the basis of the speech of the country, Moravia, where they worked and where reigned the sovereign who summoned them, that the first Slav translators fixed the religious language of the Slavs ; it is in making use of their language, the speech of the Salonika region.

The condition of the language as presented by the *gāthās* does not permit us to fix the time, with any amount of precision, as to when that language came to be fixed. Because the rapidity with which languages evolve varies from case to case. In the second place, a literary language once fixed continues without any great visible change ; Latin, in which the mediæval texts are edited does not give any idea of Italian, Spanish, or French which people spoke after the 13th century A. D. Finally, there is no landmark for the dialect to which the Avestan language belongs.

For want of any definite landmark, one may read through the Achaemenean inscriptions where is used a different dialect, but of the same type. It has been often said that these inscriptions were written in a fixed language—in an official language. On a close examination, one gathers a wholly different impression : the language in which these are inscribed should be that of the Persian aristocracy from among whom Darius recruited his first assistants and satraps. One finds there in a sufficiently accurate manner the state of Persia in the time of Darius (521-483 B. C.) and Xerxes.

That state of language belongs again to the old type of Indo-Iranian. The final syllables continue. There is one declension for multiple cases. Most verbal types are preserved either in the current usage, or at least in some notable traces. But there is rapid progress of the revolution. The final consonants are already much reduced. The casual forms are lost to declension; the dative is not distinguished from the genitive; the instrumental is to a great extent confounded with the

ablative; the nominative and the accusative masculine plurals of demonstratives have only one form. The perfect is replaced almost entirely by periphrasis. The modern Iranian stage is not yet reached ; but the language is settling down, and one feels that it will not be long in coming to that.

One detail marks well the difference of level in the *gāthā* language, that of the late Avesta and the old Persian (which is from an entirely different dialect). In the *gāthās*, the two terms of the name *Ahura Mazda(h)* are autonomous ; they are often separated from each other ; the order varies and one has it *Mazdā(h) Ahura* as well as the inverse. In the late Avesta, the two terms are again mutually flexed : *Ahurā Mazdā* ; but the order is fixed. In old Persian, the unification is complete, and the last term only is flexed : *A(h)uramazdā*.

Persian, language of a conquering aristocracy which has occupied new regions, is bound to evolve rapidly. And there is roughly speaking one century between the traditional date of Zoroaster and that of Darius. On the other hand, the language of the *gāthās* should be archaic. The Persian inscriptions bear trace of a traditional religious language which the authors of the *gāthās* have not failed to know as well. The nominative plural in *-āha* of the themes in *-a-* is not conserved in old Persian as by tradition ; but, it is found in the *gāthās* and also in learned tradition. The word *fraēšta* (messenger), unknown to the late Avesta, but undoubtedly known in the *gāthās*, has there the plural *fraēštānhō* (Y. XLIX. 8).

But, as the appeal of the *gāthās* lay to the public, they could not differ much from the current language ; all religions which seek converts should have recourse to a language intelligible to the people. Buddhism and Christianity are instances in point. In many cases, the *gāthās* present some forms already evolved and more altered than those of the Avesta text (see the article in *Journal Asiatique* already referred to, page 19). Likewise the flexion of *vispa*—has conformed to the general nominal type; dat. sg. *vispāi*, gen. plur. *vispanīm* ; there is one first person

singular thematic *sišā*, in place of the athematic form reached afterwards, 3rd person singular *sāsti*, etc. Many little details show that at the moment when the *gāthās* were composed the language was gliding rapidly to a new state.

This is the position ; it is true that the state of the language of the *gāthās* is yet extremely archaic, and that this archaism is often the case, though it disappears now and then, and that in this the language is like that of the Rig Veda. The rule $\tau\alpha \zeta\tilde{\omega}a \tau\rho\epsilon\chi\epsilon\iota$ is rigorously applied. The first person primary of the singular active in the athematic type is still in *-a*, a thing unique in all Indo-Iranian. The opposition of *gaidi* "come" and of *jantu* "that he may come" continues. The results of the law of Bartholomew are not effaced, and the forms *aoyta* "thou hast said," *aogədā* "he has said" continue, in face of the form *avata* of the recent Avesta. But nothing in all this implies a date more ancient than the end of the 7th century B. C. The rule $\tau\alpha \zeta\tilde{\omega}a \tau\rho\epsilon\chi\epsilon\iota$ is applied in Greek still much less.

If the condition of the language of the *gāthās* is more ancient than that of old Persian, and in a very sensible manner, it does not imply, evidently, a further difference from the century indicated by the tradition. The old uses should be on the point of change. A curious fact is that the genitive-ablative singular of the athematic type lives in the language of the *gāthās* as in Vedic, whereas in late Avesta, the ablative singular has been distinguished everywhere from the genitive by a special form and has received the final *-t* of the ablative on stems in *-a-*. But the action of one type on another had already begun ; it was seen only in the language of the *gāthās* in a form the reverse of that which has prevailed in the recent Avesta ; the form of the genitive *varəzənahyā* comes from the ablative (Y. XXXIII. 4), on the analogy of the forms of the athematic type. One observes here, once more, how the evolution of the *gāthās* is not what has been the case with the forms of late Avesta.

Whatever little help may come from a text like the *gāthās*, whether by its contents or by language, to supply a new date or confirm the old, the data derived from such studies agree with the date indicated by the tradition as well as with the localisation. And as that date is on all points apparently correct and there is no suspicion, it is necessary to keep to it. We can fix a date for the text of the *gāthās*. One might then turn it into account for reconstructing the ancient history of the people speaking the Iranian language—so full of blanks and obscurities—and also for following the development of the religious thought in Iran.

PRIYARANJAN SEN

W. B. YEATS

VIII

The Rose Symbol which occupies an important place in Yeats's poetry connects him with mediaeval mysticism. His prayer to it (practically to Intellectual Beauty in the rhythm of Morris) indicates the meaning of this symbol :—

“Come near, Come near, Come near—ah, leave me still
A little space for the Rosebreath to fill ;
Lest I no more hear common things...
But seek alone to hear the strong things said
By God to the bright hearts of those long dead
And learn to chant a tongue men do not know.”

His apprehension at that time was that the day when the gate began to open he might become difficult or obscure. A little later he changed “bright hearts” into “spirits with mirrors in their hearts.” His “rituals were got,” he says, “by that method Mathers had explained to him” and he plunged into a labyrinth of images against which the oracles ascribed to Zoroaster had warned—“Stoop not down to the darkly splendid world wherein lieth continually a faithless depth and Hades wrapped in cloud, delighting in unintelligible things.”

Yeats gives us in his Autobiography a long history of the growth of speculations, mostly mystic, in himself noting in detail how symbol, dream, reverie, trance were produced in the course of the psychical and hypnotic experiments carried on by him and his uncle George Pollexfen.

Similarly he explains the symbol of the Phases of the Moon and its application to Oscar Wilde. This particular symbol enters, we know, elaborately into Yeats's writings. About this Yeats says that he discovered that his dream of early manhood,

that a modern nation could return to Unity of Culture, was false. He uses the symbol of the changing moon and the cat Minna-loushe. Modern civilisation is not a homogeneous whole but much divided and therefore in it men and women cannot attain to Unity—"only a small fragment of man's nature can be brought to perfect expression," even though, if the particular phase we call our own be right, a fragment may be an image of the whole.

In this connection I should mention that Freud's psycho-analytic dream-interpretation leading to his dream-theory of an internal conflict and Freudian psycho-analysts like Hesnard give an exhaustive presentation of new methods of scientific study which take exception to symbolism. The Freudian principle as applied to literary criticism has been accepted too by a host of writers like Rank, Abraham, Mordell, Chandler, Lavrin and Carpenter. Yet Yeats holds symbols to be great powers which associate themselves with events, moods and persons through the Great Memory—*i.e.*, memory of nature that reveals events and symbols of distant centuries. True art, he asserts, must be primarily *expressive* and therefore is at bottom symbolic and symbol has an intimate affinity with rhythm. Yeats goes further and distinguishes between symbolism, intellectual and emotional. He next raises the momentous question of the nature or type of poetic manner when poetry moves readers because of its symbolism and he refers to the Shelleyan interpretation of symbols of one eternal entity appearing to us as objects of sense perception and compares the symbolism of Blake with that of Shelley (in his "Ideas of Good and Evil") and notes the former's hostility to Dante's symbolism.

The "Decadent Symbolist's" ultra-sensuousness and ultra-artificiality—his "hatred of the natural and love of the artificial as escape from thralldom to delusive beauty"—and his setting of this artificiality in sharp opposition to the Nature-apotheosis of Rousseauistic Romanticism find, Yeats shows, their parallel in Blake's worship of the concrete and particular

and his rejection of "the delusions of goddess Nature and her laws of the numbers" (*i.e.*, of the multiplicity of nature) in favour of "the mind in which every one is king and priest in his own house." Yeats in effect implies his tendency to approve Blake's desire to establish a transcendental outlook.

Yeats's sense of a haunting mystery and his revived taste for dreamy legends of old Ireland as also a fairy-tale background given to many of his prose pieces indicate his affinity with Maeterlinck. Symbolism as a *poetic art* even in the case of Maeterlinck is an offshoot of ultra-romanticism with a decided tendency towards the allegorical interpretation of apparently insignificant details of common events or of ordinary daily life. As such it depends for effectiveness upon the distinctive *romantic* quality of vague suggestion as opposed to clear statement and is thus artistic.

This element of the vague which entered so largely into nineteenth century neo-romanticism is suggestive of mystery through the imaginative appeal of shadowy imagery steeped in haunting music. The poetry of Yeats pre-eminently possesses these qualities so dominant in Blake.

Subconscious intuition here plays a predominant part and the subjective note re-appears in a new form (distinguished, for instance, from the Wordsworthian sublime egotism or the Byronic self-assertiveness) as if it were the literary counterpart of the political *Entente cordiale* between France and England in 1904-1908.

In France symbolism started as a sort of reaction against the realism of Balzac, the younger Dumas, Zola, Flaubert, Maupassant and the revived naturalism of the 90's which formed a perplexing blend with decadent mysticism represented by Huysmans in whom the occult and the introspective play a prominent part indirectly influencing, to some extent, Yeats's friend Oscar Wilde. Closely connected with this reaction is the reappearance of Idealism as a survival from the Romanticism of Hugo, Musset, Vigny and Gautier. In the 80's and, roughly

speaking, up to the middle of the 90's two other factors began to give symbolism a new direction, viz., Pre-Raphaelitism in painting and the Wagnerian musical drama in literature.

Yeats tells us in his Autobiography that after finishing for *The Savoy* his "Rosa Alchemica" he consulted a friend who could pass into a condition between meditation and trance and Yeats believed in his own *daimon* ("my own buried self speaking through my friends' mind"). He also refers to the sub-conscious mind and the mind of the race called by Mathers "instinctive magic" and gives an elaborate account of the way in which he decided to turn the sub-conscious into a new direction by using names and forms as symbols. Regarding his own dream and its strange coincidence with that of Symons and that of a little child in London about a woman shooting at God with an arrow, he observes—"Had some great event taken place in some world where myth is reality and had we seen some portion of it?" He thought it came from the memory of the race or by transference of thought and though no definite conclusion could be formed *he felt* sure there was some symbolic meaning in all this. He records how while he was at Coole, of which the woods are so knitted to his thought that after his death they would have his longest visit, a few extraordinarily **simple** thoughts that perfectly explain the world came to him "from beyond his own mind." Between 1897 and 1898 his first significant dreams too—quite different from ordinary dreams—appeared amid brilliant light while he was deeply practising meditations.

While once crossing a little stream near Inchy Wood an emotion never experienced before swept down on him and he at once said—"That is what the devout Christian feels, that is how he surrenders his will to God." When he awoke the next morning, he heard a voice saying—"The love of God is infinite for every human soul, because every human soul is unique, no other can satisfy the same need in God." In 1895-96 he was in despair, he says, "at the new breath of comedy that

had begun to wither the beauty that I had loved, just when that beauty seemed to have united itself with mystery." And again—

"Does not all art come when nature, that never ceases to judge itself, exhausts personal emotion in action or desire so completely that something impersonal, something that has nothing to do with action or desire, suddenly starts into its place, something which is as unforeseen, as completely organised, even as unique, as the images that pass before the mind between sleeping and waking?"

Regarding Synge, with whom Yeats's first meeting took place in the autumn of 1896 (when Yeats was 31 and Synge 24 years old) soon after the former's return from Italy and his six months' travels among the Black Forest peasants, Yeats observes—"According to my Lunar parable he was a man of the 23rd phase; a man whose subjective lives—for a constant return to our life is a part of my dream—were over; who must not pursue an image but fly from it, all that subjective dreaming, that had once been power and joy, now corrupting within him. He had to take the first plunge into the world beyond himself."

MYSTICISM

Any man with a serious purpose in life and extremely earnest and eager in the pursuit of knowledge who busies himself as did Yeats in unravelling the hidden secrets of the mysteries of the universe and from a temperamental need makes a close study of theosophy, occultism and spiritualism, is bound to be an interpreter of mysticism. I have tried to lay sufficient emphasis on Yeats as a poet and an artist and made within my limits too careful a study of the various phases of his poetry and its development to justify any misunderstanding regarding the correct estimate that should be formed about his principal works, if now I turn for a moment to the consideration of Yeats as a mystical writer. His affinity with Blake, Shelley, Rossetti,

Verhaeren, Maeterlinck, the Sufis, and his close association with psychical research societies, with men deeply engaged in the study of the Christian Cabala, in telepathic experiments, trance, television, seance (1887-91), the particular form of his religiousness, his interest in ghostly phenomena, his strange yet bold speculativeness, not to speak of the intimacy he formed with people like Madame Blavatsky, Macgregor Mathers, Liddel Mathers, William Sharp, Stuart Merrill, "Megarithma," and the members of the society of "The Hermetic Students" founded by Mathers, Woodman and Westcott whose Rosicrucian phantasies produced in him in time a spirit of opposition to their vagaries,—all these surely prepare us for expecting that a mystical interpretation of life must form an essential element in the writings of Yeats. One may, perhaps, mention in this connection his close relations with Lionel Johnson, George Russel and even Tagore. George Russel was at one time counted as the "saint and genius" of the theosophist centre at Ely Place where members discussed philosophy and arts to be able to discover a religious principle on which their lives could actually be based. The question at issue was, we know, with the rival groups as to who should have the leadership of mystical thought in the then Dublin.

Given to inspired divination George Russel not only had strange spiritual visions but insisted on looking on them as real while his friend Yeats stoutly contended they were at best symbolic. These visions of "A. E." and the controversy they raised teased Yeats with questionings recorded significantly by the latter in the following way :—

"Were they so much a part of his subconscious life that they would have vanished had he submitted them to question ; were they like those voices that only speak, those strange sights that only show themselves for an instant, when the attention has been withdrawn ; that phantasmagoria of which I had learnt something in London ; and had his verses and his

painting a like origin? * * And was that why the same hand that painted a dreamy, lovely, sandy shore, now in the Dublin Municipal Gallery, could with great rapidity fill many canvases with poetical commonplace; and why, after writing "Homeward Songs by the Way" where all is skilful and much exquisite, he would never again write a perfect book? Was it precisely because in Swedenborg alone the conscious and the subconscious became one—as in that marriage of the angels, which he has described as a contact of the whole being—so completely one indeed that Coleridge thought Swedenborg both man and woman?"

The "Hodos Chameliontos" gives details of Yeats's plan for a mystical order to be set up at the Castle Rock (Roscommon)—a romantic spot suitable for meditative persons—with a view to establish there mysteries like those of Eleusis or Samothrace and for 10 years his "most impassioned thought was a vain attempt to find philosophy and ritual for that Order" under the conviction that "invisible gates would open" as they did for Blake, Swedenborg and Boehme and "that its philosophy would find its manuals of devotion in all imaginative literature, and set before Irishmen for special manual an Irish literature which, though made by many minds, would seem the work of a single mind, and turn over places of beauty and legendary association into holy symbols."

This philosophy would "not be altogether pagan for its symbols must be selected from all those things that had moved men most during many, mainly Christian, centuries."

I have already referred to his connection with mediæval mysticism. Yeats seems to have accepted the idea of Plotinus that through the senses man attains to the first degree of knowledge which results in opinion, through dialectic to the second degree producing science but through intuition to the last degree of divine illumination. To this last Plotinus subordinates reason and it is that absolute type of true knowledge of which the foundation consists in the perfect identity of the knower

and the thing known. Jakob Boehme's illumination of 1610 and Blake's inspiration or revelation of 1803 also were not without their influence on Yeats. But he more than once alludes to the Christian mysticism of the 12th century.

In "the Tables of the Law," Yeats describes how he was led to his private chapel by his friend and former associate in Paris, where they were fellow-students, Owen Aherne, who once "had thoughts for nothing but theology and mysticism" and combined in himself the nature of "half monk" with that of "half soldier of fortune" and "belonged to a little group which devoted itself to speculations about alchemy and mysticism." This chapel it was in which, Yeats observes, he "had first, and when but a boy, been moved by the *mediævalism* which is now (i.e., about 1897), I think, the governing influence in my life."

Yeats's researches on alchemy led him, he says in "Rosa Alchemica," to the discovery of the truth that the Alchemist's "doctrine was no merely chemical phantasy," but a philosophy applied to the world at large including the elements and man, and their desire to transmute into gold inferior metals was "part of an universal transmutation of all things into some divine and imperishable substance; and this enabled me to make my little book (on the Alchemists) a fanciful reverie over the transmutation of life into art, and a cry of *measureless desire* for a world made wholly of essences" (*Italics mine*).

Here we have a very significant confession of faith on which, I feel, it is superfluous to expatiate.

Yeats quotes the opinion of Joachim, the Christian mystic of the 12th century, whom Dante places in Paradise (Canto VII) as one "endowed with soul prophetic" forming a group of twelve glorified souls in the 2nd circle that those whose work *was to live and not to reveal* were children"

¹ Cf. the sanction given by the Pope through the intervention of St. Bernard of Clairvaux to the visions and revelation^c of the Christian mystic, the Abbess St. Hildegard (1098-1179).

having the Pope for their father but "others were elected, not to live, but to reveal that hidden substance of God which is colour and music and softness and a sweet odour and that these have no father but the Holy Spirit.*** These children of the Holy Spirit labour at *their moments* with eyes upon the shining substance on which Time has heaped the refuse of creation ; *** for terror and content, birth and death, love and hatred, and the fruit of the Tree, are but instruments for that supreme art which is to win us from life and gather us into eternity like doves into their dove-cots."

Now, mediæval (Christian) mysticism in the West was, we know, largely influenced by Neo-Platonism between the end of the 3rd century and the beginning of the 6th and after an interval of nearly 4 centuries once more revived with vigour after the 10th. In this connection the names of Proclus, Iamblicus and specially of the pseudo-Areopagite, Dionysius, are frequently mentioned. The "Confessions" of St. Augustine (Chapter VII) particularly furnish evidence of the way in which mysticism affected Christianity through Plotinus and Porphyry. In connection with Yeats's pre-occupation with alchemy, it must be remembered how magic and alchemy (*cf.* Paracelsus) played their part in destroying the power and prestige of abstract rationalism which for a time shaped and regulated dogmatic theology and thus paved the way for the rude beginnings of a scientific method of investigation of truth which characterized the Renaissance. Even this crude science of the Renaissance owed much to Platonism and Neo-Platonism.

In Yeats's "A Voice" we come across the statement—

"One day I was walking over a bit of marshy ground close to Inchy Wood when I felt, all of a sudden, and only for a second, an emotion which I said to myself was the root of Christian mysticism. There had swept over me a sense of weakness, of dependence

on a great personal Being somewhere far off yet near at hand." In the prose essay "Out of the Rose"¹ (in Yeats's *The Secret Rose*, 1897), the old Knight with the Rose of Rubies on his helmet thus described himself:—that he was very ardent in the service of the truth that can only be understood *within*² the heart, till at last came the Knight of Palestine (i.e. Christ) to whom the truth of truths had been revealed by God Himself and whom "a Voice out of the Rose" told "how men would turn from the *light of their own hearts*, and bow down before outer order and outer fixity, and that then the light would cease, and none escape the curse except the foolish good man *who could not think*, and the passionate wicked man who would not." (Italics mine.) We further learn that "the Kingdom of God" is "in the heart of the Rose" and "the fragrance of the Rose which filled the air" was "the very Voice of God."

In "The Shadowy Waters" this deep sense of baffling mystery is dominant. Forgael says to Aibric, who speaks of Druids muttering such strange things as they awake from trance,

"I cannot answer

I can see nothing plain; all's mystery,
Yet, sometimes there's a torch inside my head
That makes all clear, but when the light is gone
I have but images, analogies,
The mystic bread, the sacramental wine,
The red rose where the two shafts of the cross,
Body and Soul, waking and sleep, death, life,
Whatever meaning ancient allegorists
Have settled on, are mixed into one joy.
For what's the rose³ but that? miraculous cries,

Cf. the next piece in the series entitled "The Wisdom of the King."

Cf. Eckhart's Sermon on Sanctification and Outward and Inward Morality."

Cf. the immense rose in mosaic referred to in "Rosa Alchemica," Part IV.

Vide page 315 of "Autobiographies, Reveries, etc.," for the significance of the Rose Symbol and for Yeats's prayer to it. •

Old stories about mystic marriages,
 Impossible Truths? But when the torch is lit
 All that is impossible is certain,
 I plunge in the abyss."

He repeats the same note when he sees the vision of the mysterious birds floating and hovering over the masthead of his ship as if eager to deliver unto him the message which "the Ever-living put into their minds and also speak of that shadowless unearthly woman at the world's end." "But," says he, "it's all mystery. And I am drunken with a dizzy light." In reply to Queen Dectora who fears it is madness in him he adds—

"Queen, I am not mad—
 If it be not that hearing messages
 From lasting watchers that outlive the moon
 At the most quiet midnight is to be stricken."

This Forgael is a firm believer in a mystic type of fatalism and observes—

"Do what you will,
 For neither I nor you can break a mesh
 Of the great golden net that is about us."

And he feels that when he unquestioningly obeys the mysterious voice or dream coming as a clear message from the Ever-living he has done what is right.

Similarly, in "Unicorn from the Stars" the idealistic youngman Martin who is subject to trance sees in a vision the mission of his life, which, as he eventually realises, is not destruction of the existing order—of the Church and Law—but revelation of divine mystery. "The battle we have to fight," he says, "is fought cut in our own mind. There is fiery moment, perhaps once in a lifetime, and in that moment we see the only thing that matters." (Act III.)

His idea of Heaven is changed—it is not a peaceful place full of music but one full of passionate pursuits, of strife and

battle and we, human beings, "shall not come to that joy, that battle, till we have put out the senses," we must put out the whole world, the light of the stars, of the sun and of the moon, till we have brought everything to nothing once again. I saw in a broken vision, but now all is clear to me. Where there is nothing, where there is nothing—there is God." This is suggestive of *Nirvāna*² but in the "Hour Glass" Hell is a "Wood of Nothing" where those who have simply "denied" here on earth "never cease wailing for substance."

The Oldest Pupil of the Poet, Seanchan, who offers "Satyagraha" at the King's Threshold because his ancient privilege of precedence in the Royal Council over Bishops, Soldiers and Makers of the Law is denied by the King and and who starves himself to death, says :—

" Not what it leaves behind it in the light,
But what it carries with it to the dark
Exalts the soul."

Again, in the "Hour Glass,"³ the Wise Man is perplexed by the baffling passage his pupils asked him to explain that there are two living countries, the one visible and the one invisible ; and when it is winter with us, it is summer in that country, etc." He adds later on that his mother too used to say

¹ Cf. "Fergus and the Druid" referred to at page 147 of *Calcutta Review*, May number and the *Journal Intime of Amiel* (from 1848 to 1881).

² "Nirvāna is interpreted by Western nations as the actual annihilation of human desire or passion ; but this is a mistake. Nirvāna is nothing else than universal reason."—K. M. Hirai.

Nirvāna, according to Rhys Davids, "cannot be the extinction of a soul. It is the extinction of that sinful, grasping condition of mind and heart which would otherwise, according to the great mystery of Karma, be the cause of renewed individual existence. * * Nirvāna is therefore the same thing as a sinless, calm state of mind ; and if translated at all may best, perhaps, be rendered "holiness"—holiness, that is, in the Buddhist sense—perfect peace, goodness and wisdom."

St. Augustine says, "the strong attraction of the soul to the Divine reduces everything to nothingness" and Eckhart that "the mouth of Wisdom says to us—"In all things I seek rest."

³ Cf. "The Heart of Spring."

something like that—"that when our bodies sleep our souls¹ awake, etc." It is a play written with a purpose. Here dramatically Yeats condemns science and philosophy as destructive of belief and faith, teaching and instruction as ineffectual, arguing and disputation as misleading, reason as something that simply creates doubt to our utter spiritual bankruptcy, for mystics, we know, "base their belief, not on revelation, logic, reason, or demonstrated facts, but on **feeling**, on intuitive inner knowledge." The Wise Man eventually realises that "only amid spiritual terror or only when all that laid hold on life is shaken can we see truth." When in the last moment of his earthly existence everything at last becomes perfectly clear to him he understands plainly that "We sink in on God, we find him in becoming nothing—we perish into reality."

Martin Hearne (in "Unicorn from the Stars") whose ecstatic trance puzzles and offends his uncle Thomas, the prudent, honest, hard-working, conscientious guardian of the young Martin, remonstrating with his uncle, observes—

"It is hard for you to understand. * * * It is only when one has put work away that one begins to live" reminding us forcibly of the Indian philosopher's preference for a life of contemplation and self-withdrawal into the depth of his soul from distracting outward activities. The poem "The Two Trees" in the "Rose" volume of 1893 embodies the same idea in the exhortation to the beloved to leave off gazing in the bitter glass

"The demons, with their subtle guile,
Lift before us when they pass.

* * * *

¹ Cf. Wordsworth's mystical lines—

"Until the breath of this corporeal frame
And even the motion of our human blood
Almost suspended, we are laid asleep
In body, and become a living soul.
While with an eye made quiet by the power
Of harmony, and the deep power of joy,
We see into the life of things."

For all things turn to barrenness
 In the dim glass the demons hold,
 The glass of outer weariness,
 Made when God slept in times of old."

The positive side of the same exhortation runs thus :—

" Beloved, gaze in thine own heart.
 The holy tree is growing there ;
 From joy the holy branches start.

There through bewildered branches go
 Winged Loves borne on in gentle strife,
 Tossing and tossing to and fro
 The flaming circle of our life."

Continues Martin that he had been beyond the earth in his trance, into Paradise where " the shining people " did not work at all, for, " all that they did was but the overflowing of their idleness and their days were a dance bred of the secret frenzy of their hearts. * * No man can be alive—and what is Paradise but fulness of life—if whatever he sets his hand to in the daylight cannot carry him from exaltation to exaltation and if he does not rise into the frenzy of contemplation in the night of silence. Events that are not begotten in joy are misbegotten and darken the world, and nothing is begotten in joy if the joy of a thousand years has not been crushed into a moment." This is in effect the *आनन्दम्* of Indian philosophy and it is reminiscent of the Upanishadic "*मूमेव सुखं, नास्ते सुखमस्ति*"

Similarly, in " The Heart of Spring," the old Master who " has fasted and laboured when others would sink into the sleep of age," beckoning after nightfall to the fairies, explains to his seventeen-year old faithful disciple the mission of his endeavours to be to find the secret of life and says that he therefore devoted himself to the search of the Great Secret. A Hebrew manuscript found by him in his youth in a Spanish monastery informed him of a supreme moment " which trembles with the song of the Immortal Powers, and that whosoever finds *this moment*

and listens to the Song shall become like the Immortal Powers themselves * * *“(Italics mine). The prose essays entitled “*Rosa Alchemica*” are too full of such suggestions for quotation. Every conscientious student of Yeats’s poetry should carefully read his prose works for an authentic exposition of his ideas and ideals as an artist, exactly as he must read the letters of Keats, Shelley’s Prefaces and in Wordsworth’s case the poet’s own notes along with the journal kept by Dorothy.

In the “*Rosa Alchemica*,” Part III, we have from Yeats the statement that “When we came in the grey light to the great half-empty terminus, it seemed to me I was so changed that I was no more, as man is, a moment shuddering at eternity, but eternity weeping and laughing over a moment.” We have to remember, however, that one reflection born of this imaginative, mystic mood, *viz.*, that all these “belonged to a divine world wherein I had no part,” filled Yeats for a time with a passionate sorrow, for, “the supreme dream of the alchemist, *the transmutation of the weary heart into weariless spirit*, was far from me.”

“I had dissolved indeed,” he continues, “the mortal world and lived amid immortal essences, but had obtained no miraculous ecstasy.”

The points of light in the sky appeared now to his fancy as alchemist’s furnaces “turning lead into gold, weariness into ecstasy, bodies into souls, the darkness into God; and at their perfect labour my mortality grew heavy,” he says, “and I cried out, as so many dreamers and men of letters in our age have cried, for the birth of that elaborate spiritual beauty which could alone uplift souls weighted with so many dreams.”

This remarkable passage seems to me to faithfully reproduce the very tone and spirit of Sir Thomas Browne’s “*Religio Medici*.”

Let me now pass on to the last phase of his life and art which marks an important change.

By the year 1919 (*i.e.*, the 20th year since the publication

of his Wanderings of Oisín) when "The Wild Swans at Coole" appeared, the poet felt a great change in himself and he sings—

"I have looked upon those brilliant creatures,
And now my heart is sore.
All's changed since I, hearing at twilight,
The first time on this shore,
The bell-beat of their wings above my head,
Trod with a higher tread."

He is keenly alive to a sense of the contrast between himself and these birds (representing the spirit of nature) whose hearts have not grown old for "passion for conquest, wander where they will, attend upon them still."

Here is the crux of the whole matter. Yeats, like his now-departed friend Synge, belonged to a race passionate and simple like their hearts and (as in the case of the Irish airman who gladly embraced death) "a lonely impulse of delight drove him to the tumult in the clouds." But alas! he had known by now many an anguish—the anguish of the loss of his¹ friends and "companions of the Cheshire cheese"—and felt that his burning youth had gone. Sings he—

"But I grow old among dreams,
A weather-worn, marble Triton
Among the streams."

How intense is his desire to recapture the youthful ardour

"And learn that the best thing is
To change my loves while dancing
And pay a kiss for a kiss."

"O heart," he cries, "we are old,
The living beauty is for younger men"

or, again,

"Oh, who could have foretold
That the heart grows old?"

¹ Cf. "In Memory of Alfred Pollenfen."

Still he never permits himself to forget that "an aimless joy is a purer joy" or

" That wisdom is a butterfly
And not a gloomy bird of prey."

In the 1921 volume of poems (*cf.* "Demon and Beast") he avers that old age, which brings chilled blood, brings equally sweetness. Men, indeed, as he says in the poem with that title, improve with the years and he has learnt how to wait in patience. His "thoughts have plucked some medicable herb to make grief less bitter." Like "the sad shepherd" about whom he sings (and who grows younger every second),

" He unpacks the loaded pern
Of all 'twas pain or joy to learn, "

and,

" Knowledge he shall unwind
Through victories of the mind, "

till

" All knowledge (is) lost in trance
Of sweeter ignorance."

Resignation schools him to the recognition of the fact—

" And now that I have come to fifty years
I must endure the timid sun. " (*cf.* *The Balloon of the Mind.* ")

Yet the yearning lingers—

" I would be—for no knowledge is worth a straw—
Ignorant as the dawn"

and weary of the men around him, the craven, the insolent, the knavish, the clever, and witty men whom he hates and of the sight of "the beating down" by such "of the wise and great Art beaten down," he imagines "in scorn of this audience" a fisherman "with his sun-fickled face and grey Connemara¹ cloth" about whom he is intensely eager to write a poem as "passionate as the dawn."

¹ "A tale," however, "hangs" by Connemara cloth which corresponds to our "*Khuddar*." Irish patriotic public opinion in the 90's compelled men to change tailor and cloth and Yeats yielded to it—till his tailor informed him that "Connemara cloth had to come all the way from Scotland," (*Auto-biography*, p. 442).

He wistfully enquires—

“What tumbling cloud did you cleave,
Yellow-eyed hawk of the mind,
Last evening ?”

There is bitterness, subsequently reproved, in “The People” against the treatment accorded to him as also in the piece “On being asked for a War Poem” against “times like these,” but absolutely no cynicism (which he condemns in “Upon a Dying Lady” section V) for his desire in his own case as in that of his lady is that after death he should come face to face “with Grania’s shade” or that cardinal “who had murmured of Giorgione at his latest breath—

“Aye and Achilles, Timor, Babar, Barhaim all
Who have lived in joy and laughed into the face of Death.”

In his “Prayer on Going into my House” he shows how he values and prizes nothing “but what the great and passionate have used throughout so many varying centuries.”

We realize in his case that all changes notwithstanding the child is indeed father of the man. Yeats learnt the important lesson of

“What it is to triumph,
At the perfection of one’s own obedience,”

through perfect surrender to God’s will. He fully recognises that men

“Will pass from change to change,
And that from round to crescent,
From crescent to round they range”

and that

“God tries each man
According to a different plan.”

This great change in Yeats is thoroughly reflected in the volume of poems entitled “Michael Robartes and the Dancer”

(1921) of which the opening piece is highly significant. In it "thought" as such is systematically belittled and we read

"That blest souls are not composite
 • And that all beautiful women may
 Live in uncomposite blessedness,
 • And lead us to the like—if they
 Will banish every thought."

I have already noted how Yeats's poetry, considered as poetry or art, suffers as he proceeds towards maturity and the *emotional* quality of it on which he laid so much emphasis in the earlier stages of his growth, we have to note, now yields place to an *intellectual* one, however softened it may be by his mysticism and symbolic method of treatment. This change, call it development if you will, reminds us of Wordsworth (after 1808). In the notes to this later series of poems Yeats refers to his mystic prose pieces "Rosa Alchemica" in which, adds he, "I endeavour to explain my philosophy of life and death" (1922). I have just noticed how the complexity brought about by the conflict between "thought" and "body" is indirectly condemned in "Michael Robartes and the Dancer." His distrust of mere knowledge grows with the growth of his desire at the age of fifty for greater naturalness and the sweetness of old age soothes his troubled soul. He becomes very charitable to the opinions of those that think differently and becomes very liberal-minded knowing, as he does, that after all "opinion is not worth a rush" for "opinions are accursed." He is afraid particularly of "intellectual hatred" of all hatreds because unless that is driven "the soul never recovers radical innocence," and finally, wonder of wonders, he holds now—

"How but in custom and in ceremony
 Are innocence and beauty born?"

He ceases to look upon (physical) beauty as a "sufficient end" and feels "my mind has dried up of late." (Cf. "Prayer for my Daughter.") In the poem "The Second Coming" which

explains itself by its very title there is a great message of Hope.—“Surely some revelation is at hand” but at the very words—the Second Coming!—a vast image starts up troubling his sight, the image of the Sphinx and darkness drops again and he knows

“That twenty centuries of stony sleep
Were vexed to nightmare by a rocking cradle,
And what rough beast, its hour come round at last,
Slouches towards Bethlehem to be born.”

“Another Song of a Fool” and “The Double Vision of Michael Robartes” (in which Keatsian appreciation of the concrete is preferred to Wordsworthian transcendentalism) are in praise of free joyousness, for true wisdom is joyous and not gloomy (*cf.* “Tom O’Roughley”), which is set over against intellectual sublimity (represented by the Sphinx) and contemplative immobility (represented by Buddha).

Even in his earliest poetical effort (“Wanderings of Usheen”) there is a passage of fervent lyrical outburst on “Joy is God and God is joy” which speaks of joy as that which gives life, vitality, freshness, beauty to everything on earth and in the sky, and which, like the stern voice of Duty in Wordsworth’s poem,

“** rolls along the unwieldy sun;
And makes the little planets run:
Nay, if joy were not on the earth
There were an end of change and birth.”

“I know there is good in the heart that loves dancing,” says the young disciple to his Master (in “The Heart of Spring”) who has fasted, laboured hard, foregone all rest and repose in the earnest hope that soon he would “enter into the eternal kingdom of his youth.”

We have to bear in mind in this connection the significant fact that all Celtic races from very early days were thoroughly pantheistic in their philosophy. In fact pantheism forms the

dim background of all forms of religion that emphasize that true unity is to be discovered only in and through one all-pervasive God—

- “A motion and a spirit, that impels
- All thinking things, all objects of all thought,
- And rolls through all things.”

We learn that the earliest Irish literary records preserve a poem attributed to the Milesian Druid Amergin of the Fair Knee in the Book of Ballymote (first reduced to writing perhaps in the 14th century and forming with the Books of the Dun Cow and the Yellow Book of Lecan the valuable mediæval manuscripts preserving legends of the pagan Goidels) which has its parallel in an early Welsh poem ascribed to Taliesen. The theme of this piece is oneness (unity) everywhere in the universe of nature, animate or otherwise. “It is strange,” says a compiler of Celtic myths in his comments on all such poems, “to find Grael and Briton (Goidels and Brythons) combine to voice almost in the same words *this doctrine of the mystical Celts*, who while still in a state of semi-barbarism saw, with some of the greatest of ancient and modern philosophers, *the One in the Many*, and a single Essence in all the manifold forms of life.” (Italics mine.)

Mannanán, son of the Sea, who emigrated from Ireland during the exile of the gods after their defeat at the hands of mortals, visited that land from the Isles of the Blessed and on that occasion sang a song on this very theme.

Now, all mystics passionately believe in a unity underlying all diversity. This is considered by mystics both the starting point and the very goal as much as the most fundamental truth of that mental attitude founded on a realised experience of one-ness in all things which constitutes the essence of mysticism. “Necessity for symbolism,” again, “is an integral part of the belief in unity.” In the language of Plotinus the mystic’s soul adventure is “the flight of the

Alone to the Alone," or as Blake puts it, his is the endeavour

" To see a world in a grain of sand
And a Heaven in a wild flower,
Hold Infinity in the palm of (his) hand
And Eternity in an hour."

Yeats too has reproduced the old Celtic manner in the somewhat pantheistic piece "The Indian upon God" in his early volume of "Crossways" (1889). The opening line of his "Coming of Wisdom with Time" (1912)—

"Though leaves are many, the root is one" is decidedly significant. I quote also the closing lines of "Fergus and the Druid":—

"I see my life go drifting like a river
From change to change ; I have seen many things,
A green drop in the surge, a gleam of light
Upon a sword, a fir-tree on a hill,
An old slave grinding at a heavy quern,
A king sitting upon a chair of gold,
All these things were wonderful and great ;
But now I have grown nothing, knowing all."

The last line is worth a special notice. Let me turn next for a moment to an ancient Celtic myth.

Lugh, the Far-shooter (the Gaelic Sun-god) and grandson of the God of Medicine, got the surname of Ioldanach (*i.e.*, Master of all Arts) and as such became also the master of all knowledge. He presented himself before the Assembly of the Gods at Tara, the famous capital of the Gods of the Tribe of Danu (Tuatha Dé Danann) also called Drumcain, where Nuada, the king, was celebrating a great feast. Being challenged by the gate-keeper this Lugh described himself with reference to his infinite functions as at once a carpenter, smith, warrior, harper, poet, story-teller, sorcerer, physician, cup-bearer, worker in bronze—a master of all crafts at once, and being admitted into the royal presence sat down on the *sage's seat*,

Eventually the king allowed him to occupy the throne in his stead for full thirteen years.

This, it will appear, is a crude and indirect presentation in the shape of a semi-allegorical folk-tale of what in essence is a pantheistic conception—of the root being one but the leaves many—of the substance being one but the forms infinite.

Yeats accepted in a way the Swedenborgian idea of correspondences and divine love as the cause of creation. Mystic love is a means of realising the Infinite, the love of God being "the only unending intoxication in the world." It is thus that human love may become an ecstasy. Like Verlaine Yeats believed in the inspiration of the supreme moment, or better, "in absorption in the moment," for "the true mystic absorbs divine beauty." Verlaine's religious poems, though he is generally known as an abandoned sensualist, especially his *Sagesse*, represent the mediæval mystic's ineffable joy in and through a deep sense of communion involving an ideally perfect and absolute surrender of the individual to the Deity of which a parallel, pregnant with deep spiritual significance for a pious devotee, is to be found in the Vaisnavism of Lord Gouranga and his disciples—only in the case of the Western mystic the intensity of rapture is oftener than not tempered by a Judaic note, the consciousness of sin requiring grace and forgiveness and engendering the spirit of thanks and praise for atonement (in Verlaine's case, for instance, through the loving mediation of the Virgin who is the Mystic Rose). There is another important point to be noted regarding the mystical poetry of Yeats. The central secret of the mystics as contained in the Hermetic formula of "As things are below so are they above" finds also an advocate in Yeats. The idea has, we know, found expression in various forms from the time of Pythagoras and we have Boehme's *signatura rerum*, Swedenborg's "Correspondence," Novalis' "transparent network covering the world" and Shelley's "doubles" (in *Prometheus Unbound*). Rationalistic or philosophical criticism with a pronounced

bias towards classicism does look askance at mysticism as we find in Professor Santayana's "Interpretations of poetry and Religion" where we read—"We are dazed, we are filled with a sense of unutterable things, luminous yet indistinguishable, many yet one. Instead of rising to imagination, we *sink* into mysticism."

We cannot enter at this stage into a discussion of this point raised by so sound and cultured a writer. Let me rather quote a few sentences, pertaining to the matter, from the Presidential Address delivered on the 18th of March, 1926, by Dr. Hans Driesch to the Psychological Research Society:

"It is a well-founded metaphysical hypothesis that all Egos and minds and entelechies are ultimately one; that the Spiritual is part of metaphysical Reality, though this one may, under certain circumstances, appear as the many. Let me only mention some of the results of my own former embryological work: one egg may give two or four organisms and souls if only you separate the blastomers and two eggs may give one organism and one soul. Can souls divide and unite? Would it not be more adequate to say that Oneness and Manyness in these cases depend on material conditions and have both their last root in the One? And not on embryology alone may be founded the hypothesis of Spiritual Oneness. Moral feeling and a good many other topics of our inner life would hardly be understandable without the assumption that everything which is spiritual and whole in the world has The One as its last foundation. * * By the aid of the One it may occur under circumstances unknown at present in detail that one of the many reveals to some other one his conscious contents."

ART IDEALS AND ART PRINCIPLES.

A complete study of Yeats required that I should dwell at some length on him as a symbolist and a mystic. But I am fully alive to the fact that he must be chiefly judged as a poet and an

artist. I therefore bring this study to a close by a consideration of some of his art ideals and art principles.

The foundation of his poetic art and criticism lay in his romantic conception of Irish Nationality and national literature. Even as an artist Yeats was brought up, we find from his "Cutting of an Agate," in a well-defined literary tradition.

It is not possible to give even a brief summary of his suggestive observations on such important topics as the requisites of a great movement, on the arts in general and poetry in particular, on the antithesis between art on the one hand and abstraction, rhetoric, utility, recklessness of life affected by artists and what he calls "the shop of the realists" on the other, on the intimacy of art and dream, the relations between art and eternity, contemplativeness, joyousness and self-possession, on the symbolic art and the need for the poetic imagination to be symbolic, his dissatisfaction with all types of modern drama (from Ibsen downwards) because of its isolation from life and its propaganda (however clearly disguised or artistically veiled) of some kind or other (mostly sociological) and on, finally, the end and aim of the poetry of Young Ireland and the poets belonging to what for want of a better name I call the Yeats school.

For all this I must refer you to his essays and specially to the "Cutting of an Agate."

One observation I shall here make. Yeats helped Synge a good deal in making his artistic appeal so powerful and successful by demanding that he must be steeped in Irish individual life as it actually is lived and pervade his expression of it by the delight in language actually used by unsophisticated people—thus practically following in the wake of Wordsworth.

About 1890 Yeats showed a leaning towards the poetry of beauty in the manner of Keats in opposition to prevalent realism and he held that poetry must have nobility and passionate austerity besides fine music and be distinguished by a personal note. His early bias was towards romantic

convention from which he now began to turn to spontaneity and sincerity avoiding the rhetorical vigour of Byron and the abstract idealism of Shelley and started to write straight off from pure emotion.

He slowly realised the antithesis between the dream world of philosophical speculation, poetic idealism, meditative introspection or even mystic vision and the world of actualities. Referring to his distinction with William Morris he says "Morris set out to make a revolution that the persons of his 'Well at the World's End' or 'Waters of the Wondrous Isle' might walk his native scenery" whereas he did it so that his 'native scenery might find imaginary inhabitants.'

His aim was to found a new tradition. He adds he failed to discover his "anti-self" while Morris, Henley and Wilde copied an 'image opposite to the natural self or the natural world.'

Following upon the creation of a *popular* imaginative literature was his reorganisation of the Southwark (London) Irish Literary Society into Irish Literary Society and the founding of the National Literary Society at Dublin in 1891.

Ireland then possessed an exotic and artificial literature which in poetry borrowed from Scott, Campbell, Macaulay and Beranger and in prose from Carlyle and was practically reduced to the position of a hand maid of politics and became full of abstractions—curiosities about science, history, politics weighted with a direct moral purpose and spiced with educational fervour.

This discouraged all spontaneous, individual and personal note, which, of course, may lead here and there to nothing better than caprice. "All the past," says Yeats, "had been turned into a melodrama" (Young Ireland's prose being much occupied with Irish virtue and more with the invader's vices) "with Ireland for blameless hero and poet." It was hard to substitute for that melodrama a nobler form of art for which Yeats fought bitterly. But for his vigorous fight in 1892-93, Synge would have no chance of appreciation at all in 1907.

Yeats, however, was encouraged by the co-operation of O'Leary, Dr. Hyde, Standish O'Grady, Dr. Sigerson and others. His verses were now all picture, all emotion, all association, all mythology.

In criticism he exalted "Mask and Image" above 18th century logic (which O'Leary loved). Lady Gregory helped him immensely as a coadjutor in establishing an Irish Theatre on a new art principle and Lionel Johnson became the acknowledged theologian and critic of the new Young Ireland set.

George Russel (A. E.) and Yeats were together at the Arts School about 1884-85 when Ireland was too much preoccupied with the land war and political tumult and agitation to care at all for poetry or literature. A. E.'s verse was yet without systematic rhythm and rhyme scheme, though he wrote quite spontaneously. Yeats laid great stress on the contrast between two types of genius—the dramatic that "seeks the Mask of Anti-self" and the lyric spontaneously presenting the poet's natural tendency. He now held that "there could be no aim for poet or artist except expression of a 'Unity of Being' like that of 'a perfectly proportioned body.'" This virtually seems to suggest a bent towards something anti-romantic and anti-subjective. He further says, "I now know that there are men who cannot possess 'Unity of Being,' who must not seek it or express it—and who, so far from seeking an anti-self, a Mask, that delineates a being in all things the opposite to their natural state, can but seek the suppression of the anti-self, till the natural state alone remains."

"These are those who must seek no image of desire, but await that which lies beyond their mind—unities not of the mind, but unities of nature, unities of God—the man of science, the moralist, the humanitarian, the politician, St. Simon Stylites upon his pillar, St. Antony in his cavern, all whose preoccupation is to seem nothing; to hollow their hearts till they are void and without form, to summon a creator by revealing chaos, to become the lamp for another's wick and oil; and indeed

it may be that it has been for their guidance in a very special sense that the "perfectly proportioned human body" suffered crucifixion. For then Mask and Image are of necessity morbid, turning their eyes upon themselves, as though they were of those who can be law unto themselves." * * *

Men, who enquire "Am I a good man according to the commandments?," or, "Do I realise my own nothingness before God?, or, "Have my experiments and observations excluded the personal factor with sufficient rigour?" are men who "do not assume wisdom or beauty as Shelley did, when he marked himself as Ahasuerus, or as Prince Athanais, nor do they pursue an image through a world that had else seemed an uninhabitable wilderness till, amid privations of that pursuit, the image is no more named Pandemos but Urania; for such men must cast all masks away and fly the image, till that image, transfigured because of their cruelties of self-abasement, becomes itself some image or epitome of the whole natural or supernatural world, and itself pursues." * * *

"We may know the fugitives from other poets because, like George Herbert, like Francis Thompson, like George Russel, their imaginations grow more vivid in the expression of something which they have not themselves created, some historical religion or cause. But if the fugitive should live, as I think Russel does at times, as it is natural for a Morris or Henley or Shelley to live, hunters and pursuers all, his art surrenders itself to moral or poetical commonplace, to a repetition of thoughts and images that have no relation to experience."

I quote this long passage entire to give you a clear idea of his critical views and attitude. This we may take as Yeats's individual way of contrasting types of genius and corresponding art forms and it reminds us of Keats who dissatisfied with the romantic indulgence in fancy felt a keen desire for a "nobler aesthetic life where he might find agonies, the strife of human hearts;" it reminds us of his contempt for a philosophy "engendered in the whims of an Egoist; of his suggestion to Reynolds

that "man should have the fine point of his soul taken off to become fit for the world," or of the remark that "the intellect can be strengthened by letting the mind be a thoroughfare for all thoughts." Keats wrote to Woodhouse about his conception of a truly poetic character—"a poet has no identity—he is continually in for and filling some other body."

This attitude of Yeats clearly points to the great advance made by him since his early days spent at Dublin with Todhunter or even later from 1887 to 1891.

By 1894-95 he realised that the art principle of insisting too much on emotion (even in lyrics) "having no relation to any public interest" proved a disastrous experiment. Though he preferred Fr. Thompson to St. Phillips, Thompson's preoccupation with too elaborate verse led Yeats to make the members of the Rhymers' Club favour poems which were speech or song (e.g., L. Johnson's piece suggested by the statue of King Charles at Charing Cross or Swinburne's *Faustine*) remarkable for simplicity.

If Rossetti at this time was a subconscious influence, and perhaps the most powerful of all, "we looked," adds Yeats, "consciously to Pater for our philosophy."

While Yeats talked of art as if it existed for emotion only, Symonds was for accepting Parisian impressionism and realism and Johnson who opposed both would have nothing but "achievement of the intellect" with its constant reference to the Church Fathers or the philosophers of the Church. Johnson used to tell Yeats repeatedly "You need 10 years in a library and I have need of 10 years in the wilderness."

Another point noticeable in Yeats's artistic development is his discovery that "perpetual images of desire" brought misfortune to poets.

Spenser and Keats have forms of sensuous loveliness separated from all the general purposes of life whereas Shakespeare leaned upon the general fate of men and women. Arnold's faith is in the best thought of his generation, Browning has

his psychological curiosity ; Wordsworth, Shelley and Tennyson moral values which were not aesthetic values. Coleridge in *Kubla* and *Ancient Mariner* and Rossetti in all his writings made a " morbid effort, that search for perfection of thought and feeling and to unite the perfection with perfection of form," sought this new, pure beauty and suffered in their lives. " This torture of desire, aching lust which turn the Muses to Furies till

" All the things of beauty burn
With flames of evil ecstasy."

He then remarks—strange souls are born everywhere to-day ! " Our love letters wear out our love ; no school of painting outlasts its founders—Pre-Raphaelitism had twenty years and Impressionism another thirty ! "

Yeats saved Synge from this morbidity by advising him to get familiar with a life that had never before been expressed in literature and by living for a time in the Aran Islands. Even in his own case, after " Usheen " (finished at 22) which was " too elaborately ornamental " he simplified his style " by filling his imagination with country stories."

We have arrived at the year 1896. Yeats thinks in this connection that " No mind can engender till divided into two but that of a Keats or a Shelley falls into an intellectual part that follows, and a hidden emotional flying image, whereas in a mind like that of Synge the emotional part is dreaded and stagnant, while the intellectual part is a clear mirror-like technical achievement."

Synge while in Paris said once to Yeats—" There are three things any two of which have often come together but never all three ; ecstasy, asceticism, austerity ; I wish to bring all three together."

(Concluded.)

THE CALCUTTA UNIVERSITY VICE-CHANCELLOR,
REV. DR. W. S. URQUHART'S ADDRESS TO ALL
BENGAL STUDENT'S CONFERENCE HELD ON
22ND SEPTEMBER, 1928.

It is a pleasure to be permitted to open this Conference to-day, because I feel that your having invited me to do so is a symbol of your good will as a body of students towards the University with which you are connected. You refuse to be deafened by the clamour of criticism which has sometimes assailed the University. You declare that in your opinion there ought to be and there can be harmonious relations between that type of authority which is embodied—I hope not petrified—in the University, and the less organised aspirations of the undergraduate. You express your willingness to adopt and adapt a phrase recently used—if only the teachers of the University will forget for a moment how old they are, to forget, also on your part, though it may be only for a shorter time, how young you are. You are willing at least to acknowledge the existence of older people. You are willing to make one or two experiments in pouring the new wine of life into the old bottles of academic experience, however apprehensive you may be lest the old bottles may burst and spill their contents.

There are some who may feel that the University ought to hold sternly aloof from such gatherings as these and should regard them as signs of a youthful exuberance and restlessness which deserves no recognition. Students, it may be said, should stick to their studies and leave talking alone. I confess that I do not share this view, although I admit that sometimes there may be too much talking. I do not think that the nursery stage of training should be unduly prolonged, and that on the principle that little children should be seen and not heard, students, who are so soon to be grown men and women, should be put

in a corner and told to stay there quietly with their eyes glued to their books, if, indeed, in the dim light of the recesses into which they are thrust, they can see even these books properly. I believe in the value of discussion and in the profitable results of the expression of varied opinion.

As I have only recently returned to Calcutta after a rather prolonged absence, I am not familiar with all the stages through which the preparations for this great gathering have passed, but I am content to take the gathering as I find it to-day—a vast concourse of young men with their gaze fixed on the future, desiring above all things, to give their service for the highest welfare of their community, and anxious to find out what that highest welfare may be. And it is a great honour to be asked, as representing your University, to give the barque of the Conference that slight push which will send it out from the shore and set it floating upon the free waters of discussion and debate. I hope that your voyaging may be over peaceful waters. I do not know in what directions you propose to sail, and perhaps the discovery of these directions is just the task of your Conference. In any case he who launches the vessel is not put in possession of a complete chart of its sailings. Nor should he in the least desire to usurp the functions of the commander or the pilot. I know that you will be under able and skilful guidance. I trust that under that guidance you will reach your desired haven, and that, as a result of your reasoned and calm deliberations that haven will be one at which all who have the truest welfare of Bengal at heart will desire that you should arrive.

You have a varied programme. There are arrangements for music and recitation and debate, and there is no knowing what topics of interest the subjects committee—in its prolonged deliberations—may produce for your discussion. Whatever these subjects may be, may I express the hope that in your discussion of them you will be true to the spirit of your University, the academic, the scientific and the religious spirit. It is because I desire above all things that this spirit should be

cherished that I have ventured to take up a few minutes of your time to-day. It seems to me that if a University in any land is to remain coldly indifferent to the public questions of the day, it fastens upon the students an almost intolerable dilemma. It practically compels them either to take no part whatever in the discussion of living questions, or to determine beforehand that the part they will take will be one of utter and entire opposition to the presently constituted scheme of things in the University or in society as a whole. It leads in other words either to a dogmatism of cold inaction or to an equally undesirable dogmatism of unconsidered and impetuous action. Both extremes are to be avoided and it is the duty of students of any University to make up their minds that they at all events will avoid such extremes. No one can in the long run prevent discussion of public questions any more than he can keep back the tide of the ocean and it seems to me that a University is missing a great opportunity if it stifles discussion. As Sir Michael Sadler said in a recent address, "No University is vigorous unless the minds of its young and older members are thinking about fundamental things—God, Freedom and Duty to one's neighbour." But the important thing is *how* you are to think about these things. I beseech you to be loyal to the spirit of a University, to carry into your discussions the spirit of the student, to believe that it is possible to find out the truth in regard to great public problems, to admit that there are two sides to every question, and that it is your business to find out on which side the truth lies, and having found it to adhere resolutely to it, despite all opposition and temporary unpopularity. Great is truth and will prevail,—that ought to be the creed to which you should devote yourselves. One word more. You are here to prepare yourselves for life, to be ready to take your places as leaders of the community. Do not too hastily bring that period of preparation to an end, and rush into actions which you have not had the opportunity of sufficiently considering. This is your time for pondering over problems, and discovering the best means of

solving. It is not your time for rushing to action before you have found the solution. Nor should any others endeavour to make use of you before you have arrived at independent and free judgment for yourselves. If you cherish this spirit you will without doubt arrive at a solution of your problems, but *only* if you cultivate this spirit. You may find ways of activity which are at present hidden from the eyes of those who are older, and I would say that when, under the guidance of God and in the exercise of your own power of deliberation, you do discover these ways, it should not be the part of your seniors to create obstacles to your entering on these hitherto untried ways. Meanwhile, in all freedom of thought, in all discipline of spirit, in all respect for the past, consideration of the present and loyalty to the future, prepare, prepare, prepare for the days of action which will come to you at a later stage of your life when you will be sent out from this University to become the responsible leaders of your country in its progress towards all that is true and beautiful and good. Prepare, I say, with open mind. Prove all things and hold fast to your souls that which is good. "Whatsoever things are true, whatsoever things are honest, whatsoever things are just, whatsoever things are lovely, whatsoever things are of good report...think on these things"—think about them calmly, but also with enthusiasm for individual and social ideals; deliberate upon them, make them your own and so live according to them that your country will be the better for your conferring together.

I have very much pleasure in declaring this Conference open and I hand over the charge to your honourable President, praying that all success may attend your deliberations and that they may hasten the dawning of a new and better day for the students of Bengal and for your University for which, even with all the defects which you are frequently ready to point out, you cherish a deep and, I hope, growing affection.

LIFE OF THE CELEBRATED SEVAGY

CHAPTER VII

The Great Mogol sends Jassomptissinga with one hundred thousand horses and what followed his arrival.

Jassomptissinga set out from Dely the second capital of the Mogol and (when he) arrived [61] after an easy march, Sextaghan went to welcome him. When he related the past events to the new General some of them caused his admiration and others made him laugh but he all the while praised the great astuteness of the adversary. Sevagy had information of the new reinforcement and fearing the might of the new enemy tried the use of his cunning. Jassomptissinga was a Gentio. Sevagy took advantage of this (fact) for he was a (Hindu) and sent him one night a rich present of precious stones, a large quantity of gold and silver with many rich and precious jewels. With these marvellous canons Sevagy fought and reduced that fortress. The message was as follows: "Though your Highness has the greatness of a Sovereign King and (now) also that of the General of so powerful an Emperor, I remember that you are a Hindu like me and if you take account of what I have done, you will find that all I have done was due to the zeal for the honour and worship of your gods whose temples have been destroyed everywhere by the Mouros. If the cause of religion have precedence over all the goods of the world and even [65] over life itself, I have for the same cause risked mine so many time for religion itself. Your Highness, I had to commit these excesses because I was so obliged to the gods (or such is your obligations) who gave me above all such a high caste and race as that of the Rayas. After death

this soul will turn to the body of a Bracmene or of a cow, as I expect of the gods for the work I have done in their service, in reward for which they have paid me with great treasures in this life which I would share with your Highness if you kindly attend to my prayers and as a token of which I offer you in the name of the gods themselves these trifles. I do not ignore that [a person of] your High caste has for honour and loyalty to defend those whose salt and water you eat and drink. I know moreover that you hold the Jaguir of the Great Mogol and cannot on that account take the side or another, but you may so behave that you will fail in the loyalty associated (with) your illustrious family (sangué) or in the respects due to your gods that I may mix with the people of Sextaghan [66] to be able to do as I like (para ser senhor das accoens) and do to him without the knowledge of the Mouros what I can."

Jassomptissinga was less devout and more ambitious and so did not attend to these scruples ; he was much obliged for the presents and still more for the promises for which he confederated with Sevagy promising not to obstruct his cause and even to connive at what (Quanto must be a misprint for quando) he might design anything against the Mouros. And for greater dissimulation he at once lodged in the quarter next to Sextaghan's to leave the rest of the field free for Sevagy's usual assaults. Neotagy was the first to set out under the darkness of night with 80 men only with him all (of them went) on foot, with swords and targets. He entered the lodging of Sextaghan which was in the very houses that Neotagy and Sevagy had built and posted behind the walls of these houses he began to affect "a breach with hand pikes, a strong wind prevented the noise which would otherwise follow for Sextaghan himself had slept in the house. The Sevagis had purposely selected a stormy night [67]. They were soon (afterwards) entering but the first two fell

into a well of which they had no knowledge for it had been opened by Sextaghan's order for the use of the women. They discovered, however, that the mouth (of the well) was narrow and some of them stretched themselves over it while others passed over their (body). They found themselves in the women's quarter where no man could enter. The women seeing now so many men made a loud noise in great confusion and the son of Sextaghan hurrying to their rescue was instantaneously killed. Then the wailing and shouts of the women increased very much, which roused Sextaghan who as he was arrogant by nature, entered through the door with a scymitar in hand without knowing who his guests were. Neotagy encountering him dealt a heavy blow at his head and while Sextaghan parried with the scymitar Neotagy drove his sword shell entirely cutting the thumb. Feeling himself then wounded, and disarmed, expecting no mercy he retreated among the women who with great artifice saved his life. They pushed him along saying, "we see [68] this washerman shows boldness knowing that this is the house of women." This dissimulation saved his life for Neotagy on this account gave up pursuing him. While he returned to seek Sextaghan in the house the latter left the house and fled, convinced that the whole army of Sevagy had come upon him and he did not feel secure anywhere. Neotagy did not leave before entering the house and even sitting on the bed of Sextaghan. There he called the women and interrogated them in order to find out their master but they responded that he knew well how little freedom they had who could not go out of a house and he would find sufficient answer enough in this fact. In this manner they all said that Sextaghan was not there. Neotagy did not insist more, he knew that such was the fact but (he knew) not that these (women) had saved him. He however picked up the

most loveliest of them and judging her to be the greatest favourite he requested her to take betel and while she did so (Neotagy) remained standing before her. (Betel is a leaf very common in India, which the natives always eat [69] with lime and a fruit called areca and though the ingredients of lime and areca are as hard as bread, may seem to be unpleasant, the effect is not only good for health but is not displeasing to the taste) and she ate it slowly while his men collected all the precious things of the house. Having been informed that everything was well, he left by the main gate where he met no guard or anybody to enquire who he was. Neotagy offered no insult to the women, for this sex is much venerated in Hindustan and they observe their customs better than the Europeans. These soldiers (nestes) had special reason for this as it was the order of Sevagy who while he lived was both obeyed and loved. And if anybody ever violated any of his orders the punishment was such that there was no second instance (of the offence). Hence it is clearly inferred from this that the ruler is the real author of the losses and offences of a commonwealth is the ruler who rules.

The noise in the house was followed by the tumult of the whole army, and mounting [70] their horses the officers awaited orders about what they should do. There were great confusion and din of innumerable instruments but greater was the noise they all made because none knew what to do. And the army was in this condition when Neotagy passed through its midst passed with his men (Neotagy). Very few Mogols spoke the Daquinini language and so speaking the Mogol language all the Sevagis passed by conversing among themselves in the Mogol language and they were thought to be Mogols supposed to have come to participate in an assault that was to be delivered at a certain place against Sevagy. In this fashion they left and went to the hills and the mountains, whence they had started and Jassomptissinga laughed at

the event and at all persons. With the light of the morning all doubts were removed. The Mogols found themselves mounted sleepless and tired without any success. At this stage came Sextaghan full of blood, with his arm supported in a bandage and accompanied by the guards of his gate. No one knew the cause of the strange spectacle. Their surprise was great to find such a haughty man now carry his head so pale and humble. Without saying anything Sextaghan retired [71] to lament the death of a son whom he excessively loved and to nurse the wound. While passing the gate he had an unsupportable fainting fit and he fell unconscious on the earth. Hence he was carried in the arm but no decent place could be found to lay him down ; such was the state in which Sevagy's men had left the house. The news of this fainting fit ached the female quarters and thinking him to be dead, women raised such loud shrieks that roused and revived Sextaghan who bade them in a harsh and weak voice to be silent. Then all the officers of the army came to offer him their condolence for death and wound. Sexatghan did not know of whom to complain, about which each one gave his opinion. Then they agreed that Sevagy was the author of it all and some of them seizing their sword swore that they would exact satisfaction for such (great) impudence. Others running their hands through their long beards affirmed that Sevagy could not venture so far without Jassomptissinga's consent. But as Sevagy was a gentio (Jassomptissinga) would like to help him against the Mussalamanes [72] when these discourses and bravados were going on a message came that the retinue of Jassomptissinga had arrived at the gate. Sextaghan lowered his eyes to conceal such vehement suspicions, others did the same and all got up to offer such a great personage the usual courtesies. He entered and with a smiling face pretending ignorance of the event, offered his condolence to Sextaghan and asked him what had happened. Sextaghan replied placing his hand on the

forehead as was the fashion Nacivo ghó-dá-ghá that is to say : event that God had written on my forehead. They exchanged similar other courtesies each one thought that he had deceived the other. The Mouro disguised his feeling for his lost finger and the death of his son and the Gentio that he had escaped and was not also dead. At last after a long conversation about the occurrence Jassomptissinga took leave and went to write to the Mogol, and Sextaghan immediately did the same for their office imposed this obligation on both of them. Sextaghan said that [73] his loss was due to Jassomptissinga. But the great Mogol himself had not courage to manifest his feelings against these people. This nation is called Rayaputoo and among them there are kings so powerful that they can bring to the field two hundred and three hundred thousand horse ; moreover they are most valorous and all of them are so haughty that in order not to yield to one another they have all become subjects of the Mogol whom they serve and of whom they take Jaguir tent on this condition that if he meddles with any of them all at once unite and thus they are in this manner more powerful than the Mogol and during the interregnum .he who is supported by them wins to such an extent that of the sons of the Great Mogol he who has the Rayas (are Kings) on his side is sure to secure the succession to the throne. These Gentios are famous for the many nobles among all these people and the most powerful of them all was Jassomptissinga of whom we speak though he had received Jaguir from the Mogol and was on that account his vassal. As such and his general Jassomptissinga also now wrote to the Mogol giving information of the event and complaining of the conduct (Govenor may also be commanded) and vigilance of Sextaghan that four men should [74] venture into such a (big) army and commit so much (injury and insult).

CHAPTER VIII

How Sevagy sacked the city of Surrate and of other things he did at this time.

Having reported the event to the Great Mogol, Sextaghan did not for many days treat of anything but his wound and the solemn funeral of his son. For this and other reasons Jassomp-tissinga was also quiet. But both of them thought that in view of two such powerful armies Sevagy would fortify himself storing provision in one of his hills, for the moment fear will not permit him to do any other thing. None of them however knew that Sevagy was not merely very intrepid but tireless (as well) and he demonstrated it very soon. To show how little he cared for Sextaghan (what little account he made of—o ponco caso que de Sextaghan faria) and the army with which he sought him, Sevagy resolved to sack the great city of Surrate, the greatest emporium [75] of the Orient and the richest jewel of the Mogol, situated thirty-six leagues north of the place where the (two) armies lay. For this purpose he took eighty-thousand cavalry and thirty-thousand infantry with him and with great secrecy he descended the great hills near the city with all secrecy by unknown roads above the Gate. In this spacious area he did not meet with a shadow of resistance. Such were the fear and respect that all entertained him that to invoke his name sufficed for the greatest difficulties. Much more was now experienced (Ainda aqui se vio mais) for he passed so quietly without interfering with anybody that people doubted whether he was Sevagy but (the very thought that) he might be Sevagy was enough to prevent anybody from stirring. Some confused news of his intention reached Surrate but caused great laughter as [80] hundred and eighty-thousand cavalry were encamped in the very territories of which Sevagy had become

master (and as) he knew how to make an assault in safety and had the imagination of one who intends to destroy without being destroyed, but this time he completely destroyed. For if the two armies had the least information [76] they would secure the passes against him and he would be lost. But the Governor of the Fortress had not neglected to provide himself with munitions, food and other necessary things. The Dutch and the English did the same thing in their Factories, for caution causes no loss. Moreover, it seems that they knew Sevagy better. Sevagy laid all doubts at rest with his presence. At the break of dawn he divided his men in four parties and ordered them to attack on all sides shouting his name (with the invocation of his name), which was the most formidable battery. He was not mistaken, for it was heard (with the same terror as is excited when) a furious tiger enters a herd of cows. The guards fled, the miserable inhabitants, who in their fear and surprise had roused themselves from bed (only) to throw themselves to the swords of the enemies formed the first casualties. Sevagy had posted guards at all the exits of the city and so those who fled fell into their hands and became prisoners. There was such a confusion in the city among the Mouros, Baneanes, Guzarates and all other [77] Hindus that as it will not be easy to describe. Men, women and children all ran naked without knowing where and to whom. But no one was in the peril of life, for it was the strict order of Sevagy that unless resistance was offered no one should be killed, and as none resisted none died. Sevagy's men then entered the houses and (despising) slighting the richest silk and silver coins or silver, took (or sought) only rupias of gold each of which is worth sixteen of silver. After robbing what they found they took the richest merchants in the presence of Sevagy before whom they prostrated themselves perspiring, and trembling in such a manner that it was necessary for Sevagy himself to hearten them. He assured them that they will receive no injury if they spoke about the houses and their sites where they kept rupias of

gold, which they at once told, not only about their own houses but also pointed out all other places where gold coins could be found. Neither the quantity of money he got nor the speed with which it was conveyed by nine hundred bullocks is credible. He immediately gave signal for retreat without attempting anything [78] against the fortress, for his main object was nothing but to plunder the riches of the wealthiest city of the east to show Sextaghan and the Mogol how little he thought of their power and army. He did not look at the English and the Dutch factories. Contented himself with the small quantity he took with which he set out with the booty] for his territories marching in good order and ascending again the Gate, not where he had descended but near Galians, arrived at Punadar without the two armies suspecting that he had gone out of the place. Entering the fortress he ordered the successful journey to be celebrated by shouts of voice and sounds of instruments but neither these nor the continued salvo for Sextaghan and Jessomptissinga to surmise anything that night was sufficient until the mail of the Governor of Surrate arrived with letters for both in which he said that he felt greatly surprised that Sevagy committed such injury in the richest port of his master and they were not all dead. It must be due not to their vigilance but to Sevagy's kindness who [79] did not like to kill anybody nor to leave so much as one rupia of gold at Surrate. The confusion of the two generals and the fun that the (two) armies made of them cannot be believed. On the top of these came the letter of the Great Mogol who was informed of all what that had happened by the Governor of Surrate and he felt the loss with such extreme anger (as both of them were grantees) that he wrote to the Generals saying with what sorrow he had received so humiliating a news, as if he had not strength enough in the Decan to reduce the pride of a Hindu of so little consequence, and he wrote to Sextaghan privately that he held a different opinion about him but that incident had

caused the loss of his reputation and honour not only with him but with all Umbroas of his court. Both the Generals hastened to excuse themselves. One with the lack of vigilance and command of Sextaghan to whom in more reasons belonged the duty of watching Sevagy's intentions for Jassofmptissinga had not come to do that (he came) only to fight while he could and [80] Sextaghan threw the whole blame on the other accusing him of being confederated with Sevagy. The Great Mogol dissimulated for reasons that will be pointed out.

(To be continued.)

SURENDRANATH SEN.

Reviews

Pippa Passes, Balaustion's Adventure, Longer Narrative Poems, The School for Scandal—English Literature Series, General Editor:—J. H. Fowler, M.A. Published by Macmillan and Co.:—Thankless to some extent is the task of the commentator. For nobody ever is quite satisfied with the amount of help provided. Some would have more, some less; while the poor commentator stands rather bewildered between such contending demands. This is perhaps why we hear sometimes of the advice so freely given on such occasions: 'Leave the students' alone with the poets, not thrusting anything in the shape of comment between them!' But though poets are in the long run their own best commentators, the fact remains that the majority of students do require some introduction to the masters, and an occasional prompting from behind to carry them through the first encounter.

The four little volumes before us, apparently meant for higher classes of Secondary Schools, are all well-known classics. The introductions are very useful as far as they go; but one could wish them a little more full. The notes, though brief, are to the point. The volumes are compactly bound, neat and handy. They will be really helpful to those for whom they are intended.

K.B.R.

Memoirs of the Archaeological Survey of India, No. 84—A new Inscription of Darius from Hamadan.—By Prof. E. Herzfeld, Honorary Correspondent of the Archaeological Survey of India. pp. 7 + iii.

This inscription discovered at Hamadan a few years ago throws some new light on the dominions of Darius. Inscribed on a tablet of silver and gold $7\frac{1}{4}$ inches square, it is written in cuneiform and is trilingual. Darius describes himself as the son of Vishtaspa and a "*Ksaryathiyānām kshaya-thia*." He speaks of his empire extending from the land of the Sakas (who are beyond Sugo as far as Kush) and from the Hindu as far as Sparda. The inscription ends with an invocation for Ahurmazda's blessings.

The date of the inscription is between 518 and 515 B.C., that of Behistan being 519, and that of Persepolis 516 B.C. In connection with these dates we have an illuminating discussion, which is followed by an account of the Sakas and the satrapies at the beginning of Darius's reign.

In regard to the translation or the critical examination of the material, everyone must admire the work of M. Herzfeld. To students and scholars, this edition of a newly discovered inscription will be invaluable.

N.C.R.

Gurselves

“ AT HOME.”

The Post-Graduate Arts Department has this session succeeded in organising an Arts Faculty Club of which all teachers in the Department are members in order to foster a corporate social life of which the need has long been keenly felt. The first public gathering of this new Club was held on Saturday, the 29th of September, in the Hall of Asutosh Building in connection with an “ at home ” given by the members to the new Vice-Chancellor, Dr. Urquhart, and Mrs. Urquhart and the function was very successful. A number of ladies were also present as honoured guests.

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JOGENDRACHANDRA GHOSE'S RESEARCH PRIZE IN COMPARATIVE INDIAN LAW FOR 1928.

The following subject is selected for the essay for the Jogendrachandra Ghosh's Research Prize in Comparative Indian Law for the year 1928 :—

“ Law of Suretyship under the Smritis and Liability to pay Debts by Sureties, as modified by Case Law.”

The conditions laid down for the prize are :—

(i) By Comparative Indian Law shall be meant the Hindu Smriti Shastra called “Byabaharkhanda” and a comparison of the standard Sanskrit authorities on the subject with British Indian Law as contained in Parliamentary Statutes, Regulations and Acts of the Indian Legislative Council, and the law as laid down in leading cases. The study, which it shall be the object of the prize to encourage, is the history of the Hindu Smriti Shastra as it existed at and from the time when India came under British rule and how and to what extent it has been altered under British influence, regard being had not only to the existing

Statutes, Regulations and Acts, but also to those which, having been in operation for a time, have now been repealed or become obsolete and regard being also had not only to the existing leading cases, but to cases which were considered leading at one time, but have now been overruled, and how and to what extent such alteration has affected Hindu Society.

(ii) The essay may deal with the whole of the Indian Comparative Law as before defined or with part or parts thereof ; but in no case shall an essay be entitled to competition which in any way attacks the religious belief, usages or institution of His Majesty's subjects.

(iii) By Adhyapak shall be meant scholars of the Smriti Shastra, students of the Smriti in the Government Sanskrit College in Calcutta, and in the tols of indigenous Brahmanical schools which send in candidates for the title examinations held in that College, and students in other similar institutions in India.

(iv) Every candidate for the prize shall be required to indicate generally in a preface to his thesis, and specially in notes, the sources from which his information is taken, the extent to which he has availed himself of the work of others and the portion of the thesis which he claims as original. He shall further be required to state whether his research has been conducted independently, under advice or in co-operation with others, and in what respects his investigations appear to him to tend to the advancement of knowledge.

(v) Successful candidates shall be required to publish their essays, and if necessary they shall receive help from the University for the purpose.

(vi) The essay or essays shall be written either in English or in Bengali, but if any competitor sends in an essay in a vernacular language other than Bengali he shall be bound to furnish English translation thereof.

A NEW D.Sc.

Mr. Gopalchandra Chakrabarti, M.Sc., has been admitted to the degree of Doctor of Science. Mr. Chakrabarti submitted a thesis on "Studies on Thiols and Studies in Colour and Constitution," and the Board of Examiners consisted of such eminent scholars as Prof. J. F. Thrope, Prof. Robert Robinson, and Prof. Samuel Smiles.

RESULTS OF MEDICAL EXAMINATIONS, JULY, 1928.

M. B. Honours—

The number of candidates registered for the Honours Examination was 5 of whom one was absent and two were successful, both of whom obtained Honours in Anatomy. Sailendranath Mukhopadhyay has been recommended for a Gold Medal.

RESULTS OF LAW EXAMINATIONS, JULY, 1928.

Preliminary Examination in Law—

The number of candidates registered for the Examination was 1,168 of whom 422 passed, 445 failed, and 301 were absent. Of the successful candidates, 21 were placed in Class I and 401 placed in Class II. The percentage of passes was 48·7.

Intermediate Examination in Law—

The number of candidates registered for the Examination was 680 of whom 431 passed, 116 failed, and 132 were absent. Of the successful candidates 32 were placed in Class I and 399 placed in Class II. The percentage of passes was 78·8.

Final Examination in Law—

The number of candidates registered for the Examination was 1,064 of whom 438 passed, 240 failed, 1 was expelled and 383 were absent and 2 transferred to other centres. Of the successful candidates, 23 were placed in Class I and 415 placed in Class II. The percentage of passes was 64·5.

COUNCIL OF BRITISH FEDERATION OF YOUTH.

We have received from the Secretary to the Council of the British Federation of Youth for publication the following resolution passed at its last meeting which has been sent also to the Prime Minister and the Secretary of State for War. It forms that Federation's Circular No. 196 issued from 421 Sentinel House, Southampton Row, London, W. C. I.

Resolution.

“The Council of the British Federation of Youth deprecates the tendency in Secondary and Public Schools to make membership of Cadet Corps and Officers' Training Corps compulsory in effect and protests strongly against any grant being made for these Corps out of public funds.”

In this connection it may be noted that the Cadet Corps was first started so far back as 1860 at Eton and introduced with some success into the Central Hindu College of Benares by Mrs. Besant and it succeeded in producing a very good impression as a special feature of Collegiate life in the C. H. C. on the celebrated occasion of the Foundation Ceremony of the new Benares Hindu University on the 4th of February, 1916. It was the late Lord Haldane who created in 1909 out of the Public Schools Cadet Corps the Officers' Training Corps invested with the power to grant a qualifying certificate entitling its holder to get a Commission in war time. The Officers' Training Corps has to its credit the valuable fact of having helped

the Great War with a large body of competent officers at a stage when Britain had not yet got sufficient time for training and sending to the seat of war an adequate number of qualified army officers.

The fear is entertained in certain quarters that the maintenance of the O. T. C. is prejudicial to the noble efforts that are being made by the youth of all nationalities to minimize the chances of another war. This apprehension lends force to the recent resolution of the British Federation of Youth which may find support from the League of Nations Union.

As for the Cadet Corps, it is being fast replaced by the more popular Boy Scouts movement which to-day includes a membership of two million scouts belonging to forty-two countries calculated to foster among young men not only a healthy *esprit de Corps* but that fraternal fellowship which is sure to make for peace. Eton in 1919 and Wellington in 1926 followed by other Public Schools have officially given their hearty support to this peace-making youth movement to promote real goodwill in the rising generation. Equally useful service is also being rendered for the cause of good-will among men by its natural counterpart the Girl Guides.

THE CALCUTTA REVIEW

NOVEMBER & DECEMBER



INDIA AND THE BRITISH COMMONWEALTH OF NATIONS

The idea of a British Commonwealth of Nations is not of British origin, but it was first enunciated by the discontented American colonists who later on revolted against British economic and political domination and established the Republic of the United States of America, and carried out the ideal of republicanism and federalism. When one studies the documents of the American Revolution, it becomes apparent that long before the Declaration of American Independence in 1776 at the Continental Congress held at Philadelphia, the demands of the American colonists were not for independence but to secure complete control over their own affairs without interference of the British Parliament which subordinated American interests to those of especially the interests of the British businessmen in general who wanted to use American raw-materials to manufacture British goods and to sell their products in America, enjoying commercial monopoly of the market. It is very interesting to note that the American colonists in their petition to the King always expressed loyalty to him but protested against the authority of the British Parliament enacting laws for the colonies, because the colonists were not represented in the British Parliament. They objected against the principle of "taxation without representation." Later on

they enunciated their position that all just government derives its authority from the consent of the governed.

In the Albany Conference, held at Albany, New York, more than ten years before the Declaration of Independence it was Benjamin Franklin, the greatest of American statesmen, presented a set of proposals for the consideration of the delegates of the North American Colonies. *These proposals were very moderate in character and may be regarded as the embodiment of the fundamental principles upon which the present conception of a British Commonwealth of Nations rests to-day.* But these proposals, not advocating the separation of the American colonies from the Mother Country, but suggesting that greater share of self-government be accorded to the American colonists, were rejected by the British Government. Many British statesmen of that time regarded men like Benjamin Franklin and others as rebels and traitors. It may be safely asserted that the rejection of the moderate demand of the American colonists strengthened the hands of the American Republicans, advocates of separation of the colonies from the Mother Country. Benjamin Franklin and others went even to London to plead the cause of the American colonists. But when they were spurned and their petitions were rejected then they directed their energy to the cause of Independence. Details of their activities can but be barely mentioned in this article. But it should be recorded that American patriots not only planned to fight the British in America, but tried to secure international aid from England's enemies. It was through their efforts, they accomplished a singular thing in international diplomacy. *They brought about isolation of Great Britain in international politics, which resulted in British defeat.* The situation was summed up by me sometime ago in the following way :—

“ Isolation of Great Britain in World Politics was only once brought about during the last three centuries when the Americans were fighting with England. It was through the French daring diplomacy that Spain

and Holland were lined up with France and America. This condition led to the formation of armed neutrality of Sweden, Prussia and Russia against Britain and that led to the victory of the colonies."

Now it is generally recognized in Great Britain that the loss of the American colonies was due to mere lack of fore-sight of the British statesmen in power and also due to the fact that they did not realise the full magnitude of American earnestness to secure self-government.

During the early part and middle of the nineteenth century, a party grew up in Canada which wanted to get rid of British autocracy and to establish Canadian autonomy. There was a Canadian Revolt against the British, under the leadership of Mr. King, the grand-father of the present Premier of Canada. Happily for Great Britain and for the cause of the development of a British Commonwealth of Nations, Great Britain initiated a policy of Dominion Self-Government in Canada and won the support of the Canadian people to the idea of a British Commonwealth of Nations. The self-governing status of Canada was the source of inspiration of the peoples of Australia, New Zealand, South Africa and the Irish Free State to assert their right to self-government. By the action of the last Imperial Conference (1927), the Self-governing Dominions within the British Empire secured their virtual independence and at the same time it was decided that the status of India was nothing more than a British colony and it was to the interest of all the members of the British Commonwealth of Nations—Great Britain and Self-governing Dominions—to preserve British supremacy there. This is the barest outline of the evolution of the idea of British Commonwealth of Nations and the present status of India in the Commonwealth. In short India is denied the right of self-government, as the American colonies were denied more than a century and half ago, India and her people do not enjoy equality with the members of the British Commonwealth of Nations and their peoples. Indians justly feel that they are beyond the pale of the British Commonwealth of

Nations and they are merely a subject people striving to recover their national sovereignty.

One may show various instances of parallelism between the history of the American Revolution and the history of the Evolution of Indian Nationalism. The decisions of the Albany Convention mentioned above may be well compared with those of the recent report of the All Parties' Conference of India. So far as one can judge the Indian National Outlook from the reports of the All Parties' Conference, it is conclusive that the Indian political leaders have not committed any tactical blunder. In fact they have presented the minimum demand of the Indian Nationalists to help British statesmen to come to an agreement with the people of India. According to the Times (London) of August 16, 1928, *The Englishman* of Calcutta has characterised the demand as a "preposterous scheme for the next stage in the country's political progress." But *The Englishman* and its adherents are following their settled policy of ignoring Indian rights. It will not be out of place to remind the British readers the attitude of hostility of the Anglo-Indians as has been recorded by Sir Valentine Chirol in his recent work "Fifty Years in a Changing World." During the days of Lord Ripon *The Englishman* wrote "*The only people who have any right to India are the British; the so-called Indians have no right whatever*" (page 222). It is interesting to note that these very people opposed the Morley-Minto Reform Scheme (page 234); and they were hostile to Indian aspirations, as it is evident from their testimony before the Indian Public Service Commission (page 244). They were opposed to the Government of India Act of 1919. They have during the last half a century learnt nothing and forgotten nothing. They have the same mentality which the Cabinet of Lord North, during the reign of George III, showed in their dealings with the North American Colonies and which ultimately led to the loss of America to the British Empire.

First of all it should be kept in mind that the report of the Committee appointed by the All Parties Conference to determine the principles of a Constitution for India is a document which is signed by two former members of the Viceroy's Council, Sir Ali Imam and Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru (one Moslem and the other a Hindu ; the former was once Vice-President of the Council and the latter India's representative at the Imperial Conference), Pandit Moti Lal Nehru, Parliamentary leader of the Swarajist Party, who will be the next President of the All-India National Congress and five other signatories.....Mr. Aney, member of the Legislative Assembly of Berar and Orrisa, Mr. E. R. Pradhan (Bombay), Mr. Shuaib Quereshi, Sardar Mongal Singh of the Sikh League and Mr. Subhas Chandra Bose of Bengal. They represent not only the All-India National Congress, the Liberal Party of India but the Hindu Mahasabha, the Moslems, the Sikhs, the Non-Brahmins as well as the radical youth of India. It is the estimate of the Calcutta correspondent of London Times that "the draft (report) has behind it the united weight of the old Liberal or Moderate Party and a formidable array of Knights, Companions, and ex-servants of the Crown, whom the exclusion of Indians from the Royal Commission (the Simon Commission) induced to co-operate with the Swarajists. The tone of the document is admirable. The possibility of a political existence outside the Empire is not considered, but it postulates the disappearance of the Indian Empire in a single British Empire or what it calls 'a well-knit Commonwealth of Nations'" (London Times, August 15th, 1928, p. 12).

The Allababad Correspondent of Times (London) has summarised the important features of the report in the following way :—

"The Committee recommends that India should have the same constitutional status in the British Empire as the self-governing Dominions and be styled as the Commonwealth of India. The Committee declares that there is no half way

house between the present hybrid system and genuine responsible government. The real problem is the transference of political power and responsibility from the people of Great Britain to the people of India.

“It suggests the abolition of the Secretary of State and the Council for India. The Legislative power should be vested in a Parliament consisting of the King, a Senate, and a House of Representatives. The Senate should consist of 200 members elected by the Provincial Councils on a population basis; the House of Representatives of 500 members elected directly by the constituencies of every person of both sexes aged 21 or above being entitled to vote. The legislative authority of the Parliament should extend to matters including defence and foreign affairs, in the same way as in the King's Self-governing Dominions.

“The Executive (authority) should be exercised by the Governor-General, acting on the advice of a council of seven Ministers, responsible to the Legislature. There would be an Advisory Committee of Defence, to effect such economies in the expenditure on defence as would be compatible with the safety of India.....

“The Committee recommends joint mixed electorates throughout India for the House of Representatives and the Provincial Legislatures and that there should be no reservation of seats for the House of Representatives except for the Moslems in the provinces where they are in minority and for the non-Moslems in the North-West Frontier Province, such reservation to be in strict proportion to the population affected.

The attitude exhibited in the report of the Committee of the All Parties' Conference on the questions of the status of the Native States, Indian National Defence, the present British employees in Indian Public Services and the Commercial interests of the British and others in India is very reasonable and definite.

The Committee does not cherish any idea of forcing the Indian Native States to enter the Federation of the Commonwealth of India. The Committee thinks 'that the Butler Committee will probably attempt to covert the Feudatory States into an Indian Ulster, but if they (the Indian Princes) should be willing to join the proposed Federation after realising the full implications of the Federal idea, we should welcome their decision, but that would necessitate a modification of the system of Government prevailing in their territories.' This attitude of the Committee throws the burden on the Indian Princes and their subjects to decide whether they want a united India or not. If the Butler Commission decides that the Indian Princes should have direct relations with the Government of Great Britain, then the responsibility of creating the *Indian Ulster* will be with Great Britain and Indian Princes and not with the Indian nationalists.

Regarding the question of Indian National Defence, the report recommends the formation of a permanent statutory Committee for Defence, consisting of the Prime Minister, a Minister of Defence, the Minister of Foreign Affairs, the Commanders-in-Chief of the Military, Air and Naval Forces, the Chief of the General Staff and two other experts. 'No measures affecting discipline and the maintenance of any part of the Military, Naval and Air Forces of the Commonwealth shall be introduced into Parliament except on the recommendation of the Committee.'

'The draft Constitution contains a statutory guarantee for the pay, emoluments, allowances and pensions of members of the Service,—military, naval, air and civil. Concerning European Commerce, they declare:—

'We cannot see why men who have put great sums of money into India should be at all nervous. It is inconceivable that there can be any discriminating legislation against any community doing business lawfully in India. If however, there are any special interests of European commerce which

require special treatment in the future, it is only fair that the Europeans should formulate proposals. We do not doubt that they will receive proper consideration from those anxious for a peaceful solution of the political problem.' "

According to the London Times of August 17th, the *Pioneer of Allahabad*, an Anglo-Indian Journal of importance, regards that "the draft constitution prepared by the committee of All Parties' Conference as moderate and sane." However on the 17th of August the Manchester Guardian, the organ of the British Liberals, in an editorial entitled "New Constitution for India" has not only opposed vigorously the ideas contained in the report of the All Parties' Conference, but suggested that the most that India can expect at the present time is "responsible Government for provinces" and *there cannot be any "responsible Government"* by Indians for the Central Government of India. Simultaneously the Sunday Times (London) of August 19th, in a lengthy article, by Mr. Harlod Cox, has not only disapproved the possibility of extension of "self-government for India" but suggested that it would be better if the people of India be ruled autocratically. Thus there is every indication that the British public opinion will be so manipulated that the report of the All Parties' Conference would be rejected as impractical by the British authorities.

What will be the attitude of the politically minded Indians of various parties towards the report of the All Parties' Conference? From all the reports at hand, it seems that the overwhelming majority of the Indian political leaders will support the findings of the Committee. Already several members of the Indian Legislative Assembly, have introduced resolutions in favour of the report. It has been reported that "Lala Lajpat Rai, leader of the Nationalist Party, has tabled a motion urging that the time has arrived for conferring full Dominion status on India at the earliest opportunity, and declaring that no advance in self-government short of this will satisfy India. Mr. Amarnath Dutt, a Swarajist member from Bengal, urges that

immediate steps be taken for the establishment of an Indian Commonwealth as outlined in the Nehru Report." The Indian Legislative Assembly, during its September Session will have a chance to debate and vote on the question; and it is to be expected that the resolutions will be carried, unless something unexpected happens.

In the meantime practically the whole of Indian Nationalist Press is in favour of the report of the All Parties' Conference. The characteristic editorial comment of "Forward" of Calcutta explains the nationalist attitude. If the British authorities refuse to accept the moderate and legitimate demand of the All Parties' Conference then the existing state of discontent in India will be heightened. Forward writes:—"It is for England to make up her mind now. Is it peace in India she wants, or will she throw united India into discontent and possibly revolt?" It seems certain that the All India National Congress, during its coming session to be held at Calcutta, during the last week of December will whole-heartedly support the report of the All Parties' Conference. The Indian Nationalist Party, All-India Liberal League, the Hindu Maha Sabha and possibly certain section of the Indian Moslems led by Hon'ble Mr. Jinnah and others will whole-heartedly support the All Parties' Report, although some of the Moslems of India will oppose it and side with the Government of India and the Simon Commission, with the hopes that by doing so they will be able to secure "separate electorate and special privileges for Indian Moslems." But the really progressive element of the Indian Moslem community will be with the Indian Nationalists in supporting the demand for immediate granting of "Dominion" status for India.

It is a foregone conclusion that the Simon Commission supported by some Anglo-Indians in India and England and the Government of India, will ignore the cardinal principles and important demands of the All Parties' Report. Thus it is safe to say that during the next general election of 1929 the whole of India will have a chance of expressing its preference either

for "Simon Commission Report" or the "Report of the Committee of the All Parties' Conference." It is safe to say that the Indian Nationalists demanding "Dominion status" for India will win the election. Thus the constitutional agitation in favor of "Dominion status" will be carried on the Indian Legislative Assembly as well as in the "provincial Legislative Councils" with greater vigor than ever before; and at the same time the Indian Republicans, advocates of Indian Independence, will be able to spread their gospel more effectively among the masses, showing the fact that the British Government is unwilling to grant the moderate demand of the "Dominion status" as recommended by the report of the All Parties' Conference. This radical agitation will necessarily lead to repressive measures and imprisoning Indian leaders from all classes without trial, as it has been the practice of the Government of India during recent years. This will develop a situation in India somewhat similar to what happened in America some 150 years ago and in Ireland less than 15 years ago. The British Government will be faced with the necessity of making concessions leading to the granting of "Dominion status" or the growing discontent in India, verging to actual revolt.

If some British statesmanship prevails then they will make concessions leading to India's securing "Dominion status." This will be a victory for Indian nationalism, as the present Dominion status in South African Union is a victory for the Boer Nationalist. In fact securing Dominion status for India will give India greater power than what Canada, Australia, South Africa, New Zealand or the Irish Free State enjoys to-day. It will be a step towards Indian Freedom through peaceful means. If the Dominion status is refused within a reasonable period of time, then the most responsible Indian leaders will turn Indian Republicans, as Benjamin Franklin did, and lead the Indian Revolutionary movement to success. In any case in due course of time, the people of India are destined to be free and independent. This will change the whole course of World

Politics as India will hold the balance of power both in Asia and Europe.

If India attains her freedom as a member of the British Commonwealth of Nation, she will influence World Politics by modifying the course of British foreign policy in terms of Indian interests. If India emerges, after a revolution, as a free and independent power, outside of the British Commonwealth of Nations, then Indian influence in World Politics will be more decisive. To-day independent Poland, Czecho-Slavia, Jugo-Slavia, Finland and other small states created as the result of the Treaty of Versailles are factors in World Politics; and it is conceivable that a free India, in course of time, will exert no less influence in World Politics than Russia, China and the United States of America.

TARAKNATH DAS

WHOM SHOULD WE EDUCATE ?

V

It is generally conceded now, throughout the civilized world that every child born into it, has the right to at least an elementary education ; the loathesome phrase indicating the fundamentally right idea being " Universal compulsory primary education." But so far no one has suggested universal compulsory higher education. Those who hold that every child should be sent to school whether it or its parents desire it or not are equally emphatic that, every young man and every young woman is not capable of higher education : in which of course they are quite right. Both principles are accepted here, with the reservation that there are probably quite a number incapable of even elementary education. The points that seem to require further elucidation are :—On what principles are the individuals selected for higher education, to be chosen ; and when does " Higher Education " begin ? Present opinion exhibits a number of instructive inconsistencies.

As regards the small child the father is to have no say in the matter. He must send his child to school or provide otherwise for its education whether he likes it or not. Only the needs of the child and of the nation are to be considered. On the other hand, when it comes to higher education, though one would expect that the same principle would hold, it is almost entirely ignored. The father of a brilliant child may prohibit its further education, altogether if he likes. Similarly, provided he can pay the fees, which are usually a small proportion of the total cost, he is considered to claim only his right in inflicting a stupid or idle son on the limited accommodation for an unlimited period. The reason for the inconsistency is, of course, an economic one, which is considered sufficiently weighty to more than outweigh the interests of the pupil and the state

freely acknowledged to be paramount in the elementary schools. A small child costs little to support and cannot earn much. It is not a very great sacrifice for the parents to send it to school. But as the child approaches adolescence the burden becomes greater because there are fees to pay, and the boy might by that time be making a substantial contribution to the family's support. The father's objection is acknowledged to be reasonable, and the interests of the nation and of the boy himself are overruled.

It is not as bad as it seems. The correlation of intelligence with prosperity has many exceptions, which cannot be ignored, but there is a correlation. If a father is sufficiently well off to send one or more children to college the odds are that those children are worth educating: and if he cannot, there is at least, a probability that it is just as well. The children would very likely be unable to benefit. But the exceptions are so important that the machine must provide for them, if its working is not to be seriously hampered. We have already remarked that great and rapid worldly success is a sure indication of a mind essentially common-place. A considerable part of the mass of indigestible material that clogs the university is from this source: notably in the older and more famous institutions such as Oxford and Cambridge. It is less conspicuous in India, for reasons that need not be analysed.

Though it is true that to earn one's living by means of a superior education is to work for it, and get no very handsome return; the economic condition of this country is so wretched, and the people so poverty-stricken, that to a very great number of them the educated man's life appears to be a Heaven of ease and affluence. Where there is no industry and no commerce, education is the only way of escape from intolerable poverty. Moreover, it is impossible not to sympathise with those parents and children (in India a very great number) who thus envisage the college, not as a place where they will become acquainted with interesting

and exciting things, but as the hard and thorny path through a blank, and dreary desert to a promised land where they may hope for enough to eat, and other similar "luxuries."

This is the great peril of higher education in India, namely :—the swamping of the institution by multitudes of the very poor, and the unfit for education, backed by a sympathetic public opinion which has not sufficiently considered the results that must follow. From this follows the pitiful spectacle of many thousands of young men with their attention concentrated solely on examination papers, and the (to them) incomprehensible formulæ that will satisfy the examiner, imagined to be a ruthless, heartless, but immensely powerful devil who will ruin them if they alter the correct formula by as much as a word. (Examinations have their place in the educational system, but this frame of mind is all wrong. The right attitude of the examinee to the examiner is :—"You didn't think of that, did you? Am I not a clever fellow? You can please yourself about passing me, but if you don't you don't know your own business.") There is no hope for the nation whose young men begin their lives in fear and doubt.

For a very long time to come the provision for higher education in India must continue to be very insufficient for the young people fitted to receive it. There is a population of 370 million 90% illiterate, and even so all colleges are over-crowded. Thousands are turned away every year. As illiteracy is reduced thousands more will emerge equally fit. It is certain that provision for all the fit will not be available for many generations. Every unfit youth occupying a seat is keeping a fit one out.

It is at least a debatable proposition that it is better to leave a people entirely uneducated than to attempt to educate the wrong section. In both cases the fit are neglected. In the second we have the additional injury, that large numbers are lifted from the environment where they might be happy and useful, to one in which they can be neither.

It is very widely assumed that the standard to which students must be trained is fixed by the teachers and governors of the institutions where they are taught. It is not. If a teacher is a teacher at all, he watches his class at least as carefully as he considers the problem he is explaining. If he finds that to a large section of the class it is too difficult, he has no alternative as a reasonable man, to abandoning it and trying something easier. If there is an external examiner to be satisfied at the end, he cannot simply plough ahead and be branded as incompetent because he has 100% of failures. He must, and usually does drill his students instead of teaching them. The most useful formulae are committed to memory, and hundreds of examples are worked out not one of which the class really understands. If the examiner has written a text book, that is also crammed. A fair degree of success (in passing examinations) may be and is attained along these lines, a good memory and an enormous capacity for uninteresting labour being characteristic of the Indian student. But this kind of thing is not education. The student possesses his knowledge only in the same way that a gramophone records or a book possesses knowledge. As a mere store of knowledge the book is more satisfactory inasmuch as it says nothing, till it is asked, and required no food in the mean time.

If an examiner likes to give his mind to it, he can always set a paper that will completely defeat the man who has remembered his formulae without understanding them. Some examiners customarily do so. One of two results always follows. The institute concerned does not appoint that examiner a second time, or it definitely instructs him to pass a reasonable percentage of the candidates. Always and inevitably the standard is made to fit the class. Every unfit student admitted makes his contribution to this degradation of the college. Hardly any one could be found to question the rightness of giving as much assistance as possible for further study to a student with a brilliant record. Considering, how many popular convictions there are inconsistent

with such a course, it is indeed remarkable how unanimous the public verdict is on the point. We have pointed out the most glaring one. Effective assistance of the brilliant student is quite incompatible with wholesale admission of those who are not brilliant: firstly, because there is not room for both, and secondly, because even if there were, the teacher could not be allowed to teach his brilliant students, and leave the others merely bewildered.

Another popular conviction quite inconsistent with giving scholarships to the top of the class instead of to the bottom is the idea that the main purpose of education is to relieve the poverty of those of this generation who are poorest. Because of the correlation of prosperity with intelligence it will be found in nine cases out of ten that the ablest member of a class is the one who needs help least, not only inasmuch as he depends on his father, but also inasmuch as he depends on himself. If help is to be given to those who need it most, most scholarships must go not to the brilliant student, but to the most dull.

Inasmuch as this is done the college becomes a charitable institution operating for no end beyond the alleviation of poverty in this generation only; to some extent at the tax-payers' expense, but in the main at the expense of the ultimate employer of the student, and of succeeding generations. Of this tripartite penalty, by far the greatest is the third part, as we tried to show in the preceding article. How great it is we will never know.

It is probable that once the elimination of the unfit becomes a recognized principle there will be pressure from the teachers to overdo it. A class that contains nothing but first grade men almost teaches itself a delightful, and all too rare an experience for the teacher. On the other hand there will be weighty social pressure tending to the preservation of the present system. The task of impartial public opinion will be at first to favour the teacher's natural desire for good material and ultimately, to

call a halt when that stage is reached at which, the merely slow and not necessarily hopeless students come to trial. The drawing of the line will be a very difficult and delicate operation requiring the good will of every one connected with education for many years to come, if indeed an entirely satisfactory solution is at all possible. It is hardly too much to say that so far it has not been attempted. As a basis of discussion in the ~~absence~~ of any real experience we may suggest the following principle of selection.

It ought to be a part of the religious teaching, from the very first, that every man's duty is to get himself into the position in which he can best serve the community, that no honour attaches to those positions we are accustomed to call high, or disgrace to those we are accustomed to call low, provided they are filled on these principles; and that a man has no reason to be either proud or ashamed of his inherited faculties. They are to be regarded rather as the sealed orders of God, indicating a man's course in life, which, when the Education has unsealed them are to be obeyed without further question. On the fidelity of this obedience, should depend the honour attaching to the career. When the children from the Elementary Schools are made to see in the Roman Sentry of Pompeii, a figure more deserving of attention, than that of, say, Napoleon Bonaparte, they may be trusted to select themselves, either for more or, no more school in many cases, and the teacher will have only to assist them in finding out where they stand. There is no pleasure in following up a course of study only partly apprehended. Only a false ideal of success in life can impel the student to do it, or his parents to desire that he should.

The familiar criticism, that we ought rather to try and encourage the dormant faculties, and leave the active ones to look after themselves is now about due, and must be forestalled. If admitted to be well-founded it would, of course, entirely invalidate the principle of selection by fitness. Its exponents

generally begin with a statement which at first sight appears axiomatic. They say, that the fullest and most complete life is that which has the greatest number of interests. They say nothing about the intensity of those interests. They say that in the course of a life devoted entirely to, say science, the unused talents become atrophied and dead, instancing the case of Charles Darwin, who became stone deaf towards the end of his life, and dead to all the artistic and emotional side of life. They do not say however, that Darwin's life was a failure, nor do they seem to see any significance in the fact, that he ultimately died altogether and that when that occurred the cultivated faculties became so far as we know as extinct as the uncultivated ones. There is no evidence that any of the faculties Darwin possessed in early life were lost to his race. His children are still with us and though they are, as might be expected, highly gifted they are not monstrosities with no consciousness of anything outside biology, as they ought to be, if there is any danger to the race in following one's natural bent. On the contrary, their careers would appear to indicate that his line is returning to the normal, the suggestion that Darwin would have been happier himself and more useful to us, if he had devoted the greater part of his time to the fiddle, and reserved biology as an escape valve to preserve his sanity is pure nonsense.

The admittedly necessary task of preserving normality is altogether outside the domain of Education. There are natural laws at work which repress all attempts of individual families to depart permanently from the average of the race.

The royal houses of Europe originate in every case in men of abnormal talent for military science. They have taken extraordinary care to mate only with the sons and daughters of families of similar origin. Much the same can be said of the English House of Lords, though it is perhaps not so purely military in origin. It is rooted however in exceptional ability. In both cases if we eliminate the new arrivals and consider

nothing earlier than a grandson of the family's founder, the most conspicuous character of either king or lord is his absolute normality. The enemies and the friends of these institutions would gladly support their cases by reference to the conspicuously evil or good qualities of their human constituents, if the most anxious scrutiny would only reveal any such qualities. As it is the opposing party is reduced to proving that kings and lords are no better than other people and the supporting party to demonstrating that they are no worse.

So far we have written of the selection as if it were merely a separation at various stages of those who are to proceed with their education from those who are not. There is however a network of other classification problems to be solved before even this can be done with any justice. Among the great mass of material that presents itself in the elementary schools there are individual peculiarities which make the task of deciding which are the intrinsically able and which are not, and exceedingly difficult one calling for very highly expert knowledge for its completion.

Laura Bridgeman who was blind, deaf and dumb from birth turned out to be an exceptionally intelligent child when, at last a method had been found of getting at her mind. There are children neither deaf, dumb nor blind who appear at first sight as impervious as she must have appeared to the non-expert. We do not all learn by the same methods. One must have all his facts expressed as mathematical equations before he can digest them, another requires them to be written out in words, a third has to have everything shouted at him, and a fourth does not begin to learn until he is given some sort of laboratory apparatus to play with. And when you have separated them into groups, depending on their methods of apprehension, you have still to consider the speeds at which they learn. It is possible that the child slow in early years is usually the one that goes further in the end. If such a one is put into a fast class it will be left behind and derive no benefit whatever

after the first week or so, since all knowledge is a building of one brick upon another, which cannot be proceeded with if the first bricks are missing.

The fast child in the slow class is bored to death, loses interest, and like the foolish hare of the fabled race with the tortoise goes to sleep and gets left.

And then there is the memoriser, with a mind like an infinite expanse of photographic film and very often just as shallow. The teacher simply loves him. His answers are always exactly right being merely a reproduction without any subtraction or addition of what the said teacher has told him. In the later stages of his education he collects degrees and scholarships to any extent. In after life he becomes a teacher or a clergyman as a rule. Except as a very convenient sort of two-legged encyclopaedia that does not require an index, he is only a moderately useful citizen. Whether we decide to try and make him think (probably a waste of time) or frankly to load him up as a book of reference, we must teach him separately. In a class of other students, he is an unmitigated nuisance.

We might continue to quote examples on these lines, until the types enumerated became as many as the individual students. In the ultimate analysis every man and woman is unique, and class teaching can therefore never be more than a less efficient substitute for individual tuition. In as much as a class is large and direct contact between teacher and student is difficult, in so much the teaching is defective. In the meantime we have to make a beginning on the three broad lines:—

(a) Division into classes based on the apperceptive faculties (early in the school life).

(b) The separation of the intelligent from the unintelligent, (a gradual process beginning somewhere about the 16th year).

(c) The division of the fit among the various studies for which they show inclination and aptitude,—synchronous with (b).

The education of a people intended to be free depends for its success on the goodwill, the energy and the conscious aim of the pupils. The competent teacher of a properly selected class, imposes no force whatever upon it. He is a liberator of forces not his own. There is another ideal which visualises the teacher as a stern disciplinarian, driving forward his pupils towards an end which he understands, but which they cannot. This man is not an educator at all. He is a trainer of slaves. He is the only kind of man that gets positive results from an unselected mass of students.

L. D. COUESLANT

THE VISIT OF THE KING AND QUEEN OF AFGHANISTAN TO LIVERPOOL . . .

On the night of March 29, there was moored alongside the landing stage at Liverpool, England, the trans-Atlantic liner "Scythia." The ship was a floating palace of beauty.

There were English spring flowers everywhere. From bow to stern, from deck to masthead, could be seen thousands of multicoloured electric lamps, a tracing in lines of light from the mast and funnels to the lower promenade deck, until the ship seemed to stand out like a veritable blaze in the darkness. A bedroom and private state-room, furnished in the style of the Georgian period, decorated in royal blue and silver, awaited the coming of the King and Queen of Afghanistan.

And then their Majesties came, and for the first time in the history of this great port, Royalty spent the night on board a ship in the Mersey. The ship's company manned the sides of the vessel, and as their Majesties stepped on board a bugler on the boat sounded the "Attention," and the Afghan royal standard was hoisted at the main, while the Afghan national flag already appeared at the fore.

This ship was right in the centre of 20 miles of docks, and not far from the Gladstone Dock, which is the largest in the world. Next day, the Royal party visited the Gladstone Dock and saw for themselves the almost unbelievably gigantic structure which has cost nearly eight million pounds to build. And this is but one of the many docks which accommodate ships from every part of the world, and from which ships daily go, taking the manufactured goods of Lancashire, Yorkshire, and the Midlands to every country.

Their Majesties' first visit on arrival on Merseyside was to Port Sunlight, where they saw the largest soap manufacturing works in the world. After they had been received by Lord

Leverhulme, the Governor at Port Sunlight, the Queen was presented with a bouquet by a little English girl, named Isabel Barnish, and so pleased was her Majesty that she picked up the child and kissed her. King Amanullah was delighted when he was asked to turn on the steam used for boiling up the raw materials of soap in the huge 60 ton vats. He watched happily as the little sea of foamy soap began to bubble.

Coming from Port Sunlight, their Majesties made a picturesque entry by water into the Port of Liverpool. Their car and many others were driven, with their occupants still seated inside, on to one of the large Corporation luggage ferry steamers, which was escorted across the Mersey by a whole flotilla of other ferry boats. Liverpool's water front rose up out of the grey, with the gaily-dressed Cunard liner *Scythia*, their Majesties' floating hotel during their stay on Merseyside, on the extreme right of the picture. In the foreground there was the crowded landing stage, with a cleared space on which stood out the scarlet-robed figure of Liverpool's lady Lord Mayor, Councillor Miss Margaret Beavan. The Lord Mayor presented to their Majesties Sir Archibold Salvidge, the Town Clerk of Liverpool (Mr. Walter Moon), Mr. R. D. Holt and Mr. L. A. P. Warner (Chairman and General Manager of the Mersey Docks and Harbour Board).

In Liverpool's state coach the Lord Mayor and her Royal guests and the Town Clerk, proceeded to St. George's Hall. The Afghan flags and the Union Jack flew over the hall and masses of cheering people thronged the plateau. Inside the Hall their Majesties were welcomed by the lady Lord Mayor, and in the official welcome read by the Town Clerk it was stated that "An important tie of commercial enterprise connects this community with every country in the world. We have, therefore, observed with the greatest interest and admiration Your Majesties' successful efforts for the extension and development of the trade and resources of your ancient dominions."

Sir Archibald Salvidge presented to the King, as a memento of this great port, a model of the ancient battleship "Royal Sovereign" built in the year 1673, in its day considered to be one of the finest ships in the world. His Majesty very graciously thanked the city for this gift and the welcome which had been extended to him.

The King revealed his versatility in a new direction at the Banquet given to their Majesties in the Liverpool Town Hall on the evening of March 29th. A conjuring entertainment had been provided and His Majesty not only evinced the keenest interest in it, but actually gave a little display of card manipulation and sleight-of-hand on his own account, which greatly delighted the distinguished guests present.

At this Banquet, the lady Lord Mayor said that Liverpool was one of the two greatest ports in the world and one of the greatest centres of industry. "We ship large consignments of goods, particularly of cotton, to your Dominions. We are thus intimately concerned with the welfare of your country. We trust that understanding, friendship, and the exchange of commerce, may steadily increase."

In his gracious response, the King stated that the sympathetic feeling of the English nation would prove to be a great factor in strengthening the already existing friendly relations between the two countries. "I have a great admiration and appreciation of the activities of the people of Liverpool in promoting their industry and commerce."

On the morning of the second day of their visit, the ship's officers and dock police, stood to attention as the King and Queen passed on their way to the Royal Cotton Exchange. The reception by the President and Directors of the Cotton Exchange must have been one of the heartiest ceremonies which their Majesties have yet attended.

From the moment when the Lord Mayor's coach, heralded by the cheering thousands of people in the streets, drew up at the centre doorway, to the moment when it left again, there

was a full quarter of an hour of wild cheering. Three sides of the Gallery of the Cotton Exchange were packed with the dense throng of the general public, and on the floor were hundreds of members who had stopped trading only immediately previous to the Royal arrival. They were the men who buy and sell the raw cotton which afterwards on the looms of Lancashire, becomes the cloth which finds its way to Afghanistan and India.

There were loud cheers when a gold fountain pen was presented to the King by the President of the Cotton Exchange, Mr. C. R. Taylor. With this his Majesty signed his name in the Visitor's Book. As their Majesties left, a terrific cheer broke out and from all parts of the building came the chorus "For He's Jolly Good Fellow," concluding with three cheers for the King and Queen.

In the afternoon, their Majesties attended the famous Grand National Race, at which nearly a quarter of a million people were present, people who had come from all parts of the world to see this celebrated race. Their Majesties saw five air-liners bring from the south of England loads of over 100 passengers and were themselves witnesses of a practical demonstration of the possibility of using the air for the transport of passengers. Liverpool is hoping to become the Air-Port of the North of England, as she is now its sea-port, and this example of airway travel is a portent of what is to happen in Liverpool in the immediate future.

Their Majesties saw the famous race, they saw the green turf, they saw a cheering, gesticulating mass of people; and they looked on a lovely valley which soon will give place to the wonderful industries which the new Industrial Liverpool is taking unto itself.

ENGLISH POETIC DICTION—1579-1830*

Words are but symbols—a mere code, the basal function of which is the representation of things or the transmission of ideas. Time and use, however, have added to the original force of words, now used singly, now combined cunningly, inner and spiritual meanings—a hidden soul, an “aura,” so to speak—which have the power to infuse into what has been commonplace the beauty or the realistic force of association; of colour, of rhythm or of form. “Home”, for instance, does not mean “one’s residence” merely; between “old Bellerus” and “Bellerus old” there is a great gulf fixed. It was the “aura” of single words and of “jewels five words long” that startled Longinus into writing, “Words are the very and peculiar light of thought” and that stirred even our realist, Mr. G. B. Shaw, to say, “I tell you that there is no word yet coined and no melody yet sung that is extravagant and majestic enough for the glory that lovely words can reveal.”

The Elizabethan period, in intenser degree than any other in the annals of our poetic history, required a language from which thought and beauty hand in hand should spring radiant. Yet strangely inarticulate was the England to which “every wind came dusty with the pollen of Greece and Rome” and new worlds unrolled their wonders. In the fifteenth century, when the literary intention of poets far exceeded their literary and intellectual power, the “golde dewdrops” of Chaucer’s speech had become fossilised, poetic language had become artificial, and an aureate lingo of “windy blasts and ventosities,” similar to that of the “rhetoriquers” of France, had been manufactured. The early translators a little later did

* Illustrated by quotations from the following texts : Spenser’s *Prothalamion* and *Epithalamion*; Milton’s *Lycidas*; Gray’s *Elegy*, *Progress of Poesy*, *The Bard*; Collins’s *An Ode on the Popular Superstitions of the Highland*; Wordsworth’s *Intimations of Immortality from Recollections of Early Childhood*; Shelley’s *Adonais*; and Keats’s *Hyperion*.

yeoman service in bringing home to their countrymen the *matter* of classical and Italian literatures; but of literary consciousness they had none. They seem to have had no ambition to translate the spirit, to create grace for grace. Most of them, indeed, little recognising that their language was bankrupt, were purists. Sir Philemon Holland set himself 'to subdue the Roman literature under the dent of an English pen.' Cheke was of opinion that 'our tongue should be written clean and pure, unmixed and unmangled with borrowing.' Wilson's purpose was 'to speak plainly and nakedly to the common people's understanding,' for 'all cannot wear velvet or feed of the best.' The foppery of scholars who sought to inundate the mother tongue with classicisms, "Gallo-Belgic" compounds, "inkhorn" terms generally, they deprecated. Bent upon preserving the native word and homespun idiom, they relegated English—the Cinderella of languages—to the ingle-nook.

The poets of the Elizabethan age, however, under pressure of the variety of their themes, the magnitude of their designs, or the poignancy of their conceptions, sought to fill to overflowing the depleted treasury of English words. Their quest was, in the main, for words which, either singly or in alliance with other words, would come home to Englishmen with the force of new ideas. In order to leaven the lump of their monosyllabic and consonantal tongue, they introduced sensuous Italian words, new words coined on the analogy of the double-barrelled terms of the French school, the classical name, the sonorous Virgilian epithet. Nor did they fail to exploit to the full the undeveloped resources of English itself. Archaic terms, new compounds struck from already familiar words, nouns used as adjectives, adjectives used as verbs, nay, even homely terms from the farms and the highways and hedges of the English countryside, were garnered in. Tricks without number were played with words once forged. A noun would appear with a henchman epithet on right hand and on left, or fling his

challenge unseconded, or disappear for a moment to be caught up later with inevitable insistence. English syntax would break into a more classical ripple in order to maintain the surge of the rhythm or bring home the beauty of literary associations. A chaotic and cosmopolitan language, it is true, and a language which to some extent merited Jonson's famous caveat; but a language also which was of extraordinary potentiality. And a man arose more than once—in Spenser, in Shakespeare, among the lyrists—to pass it into currency with the authority of genius; while Milton, the most literary of our poets except Gray, fixed it as a grand medium of epic expression before it was finally fossilised by the poets of the eighteenth century.

Perhaps it is the very cosmopolitanism of the Elizabethan poetic speech which makes it so great. The question of the true nature of poetic language has been debated throughout the ages and will probably never be settled to the satisfaction of all critics. Perhaps Ben Jonson came near the truth when he wrote, "Though (the true poet's) language differs from the vulgar somewhat, it shall not fly from all humanity." Certain it is that the chief characteristic of the Elizabethan poetic language is its natural blending of exotic beautiful words with archaisms and the vigorous and racy terms of contemporary speech. Latin words like "meditate" and ambitious "Gallo-Belgic" compounds like "heart-quelling," "love-learned," "silver-streaming," take their place naturally side by side with obsolete words and homely English terms like "gan," "adown," "whilome," "eftsoons," "shend," "dight," "the weanling herds," "their fill," "bellyful," "sweat," "batten-ing our flocks," "cream uncruddled," "rigged with curses". Both Spenser and Milton have been attacked—"Spenser in imitating the ancients writ no language;" Milton's poetic diction is "harsh". But although all charges against them may have some foundation of truth—Spenser, it cannot be denied, did not use the spoken language of his day, and Milton's voice (as in the 'Church' passage in *Lycidas*) is often uplifted with a

clashing and clanging of consonants—neither Spenser nor Milton ever “flies from all humanity.” Moreover, by some strange alchemy they turn even the basest of their metals into gold. In the lines,

“*Eftsoons* the nymphs, which now had flowers their fill,”
 “Bring the *rathe* primrose that forsaken lies,”
 “And *daffodillies* fill their cups with tears,”

that which is artificial is enchanted into life. One may even go further and take an uncompromising attitude—it is largely the artificial which enchants the lines into life.

The Elizabethans, like Browning, must have thought that “adjectives in poetry are analogous to colour-tints in painting.” The poems of Spenser and Milton are studded with “colour-epithets”—epithets which have a value beyond their dictionary value, which bring up a vision to the eye, a melody to the ear, a scent to the nostril, a reminiscence to the memory. The “vermeil roses,” “silver brood,” “crystal flood,” “radiant Hesper,” “forests greene,” “blue silk riband,” “silver-scaly trouts,” “silver-streaming Thames,” “yellow locks like golden wyre,” “rudded” and even “budded,” “dewy leaves,” “rosy morn,” “trembling air,” “aged back” of *Prothalamion* and *Epithalamion* are paralleled in *Lycidas* by “myrtles green,” “myrtles brown,” “ivy never sere,” “pansies freaked with jet,” “enamelled eyes,” “honeyed showers,” “sandals grey,” “flashy songs,” “scrannel pipes,” “gushing brooks,” “pensive head.” Very occasionally these “colour”-words are introduced with startling effect. Milton’s

“whose lean and flashy songs
 Grate on their scrannel pipes of wretched straw,”

and Spenser’s

“Goodly vermeil stayne, like crimson dyde in grayne”

are as forcible, though in a quite different way, as Shakespeare’s great weal-like line,

And on thy blade and dudgeonf gouts of blood,”

or his

“The multitudinous seas incarnadine.”

But these startling effects are the exception, not the rule, in Elizabethan poetry outside the drama, where they are to be expected. It would be difficult to pick out of *Prothalamion*, *Epithalamion* and *Lycidas* twenty words that are not “colour”-words. But the function of the remaining hundreds is not so much every now and again to bring off some special effect as to create for the surface-meaning a coloured background of gossamer delicacy, a subdued but insistent musical commentary and a suggestive recollection of things long loved but half forgotten.

We have arrived at this decision from a consideration of two fairly obvious facts; first, that our poets are inordinately fond of half-tone epithets; second, that in settling the order of their words they have been guided primarily by the ear. The frequency with which words like “goodly,” “fair,” “glorious,” “greenish,” “lovely,” “sweet,” “pallid” are used is positively extraordinary, in Spenser especially; and the effect of this frequency is to merge the definite, or what may be called the *primar*, words—“green,” “blue,” “glistening,” “yellow,” “silver,” etc.—into one another so as to create a subdued and consistent background, or, to vary the figure, to weave *primary* words unostentatiously but inevitably into the fabric of poetic speech. The tendency to use the half-tone is noticeable even in the rhymes, where often a rhyming word is caught up and re-echoed when it has been half forgotten. Spenser’s eye-rhymes—“brood” and “flood,” for example—by which the eye but not the ear is satisfied, have the same purpose behind them and produce a similar effect.

With regard to the succession of words, obvious devices are employed in order to maintain an undercurrent of poetical music. Generally the normal English order is observed, and often with extraordinary effect. “Silver-streaming Thames” does not bring a radiant vision to the eye merely: it assails the ear with

the swift flow of untroubled waters. "Came softly swimming down along the lee" is one of those wonderful lines in which the onward-stealing vowels (if the vowel-music does alone create the effect—which is doubtful) create the real meaning, and in which the dictionary meaning is of but secondary importance. Often, however, the normal order is broken. The epithet may take its place in its (to use an inadequate word) emphatic position after a noun, as in "Bellerus old," "sandals grey," "curses dark," "Mona high." Or an adjective preceding may be supported by another following the substantive, as in "sad occasion dear," "hazel copses green." Or the emphatic word may redouble its force by being given the emphatic position at the head of the line, as in

"Flames in the forehead of the morning sky."

Or the words may be chosen and arranged for alliterative effect, often obviously, as in "Flames in the forehead," "down the stream was sent," "shores and sounding seas," "Flowers their fill," "Adown the lee that to them murmured low;" often with subtlety, as in "along the lee," "ivy neter sere," "joyous leaves to thy soft lays," "various quills". Or a classical twist may be given to the words, as in

"What time the gray-fly winds her sultry horn "

Or the poet may wish to ring the changes upon a word

"For *Lycidas* is *dead*, *dead* ere his prime,
Young *Lycidas*, and hath not left his peer.
Who would not sing for *Lycidas*?"

"The snow which doth the top of Pindus strow,
Did never *whiter* show,
Nor jove himself when he a swan would be
For love of Leda, *whiter* did appear:
Yet Leda was (they say) as *white* as he,
Yet not so *white* as these, nor nothing near;
So purely *white* they were....."

"His long loose *yellow* locks like *golden* wyre,
 Sprinckled with *perle* and *perling* flowers atweene,
 Do like a *golden* mantle her attyre,....."

Whatever the device employed, the final effect is a strange, elusive and haunting quality in poetry which is peculiar to the Elizabethans and has been recaptured only rarely by some Beddoes or some Blake.

No better evidence is afforded of the Elizabethan poetic impulse bursting the trammels of speech, than by the frequency with which parts of speech are interchanged, the profusion of "y" endings, the resurrection of the Old English habit of creating new and convincing compounds out of familiar words, and the occasional use of extraordinary comparatives and superlatives in "er" and "est." "Beautifullest bride" and "joyful'st day" remind one of Carlyle. The compounds "ocean-bed," "night-watches," "self-same," "inwrought," "light-foot," sound so natural that it seems strange that they had not been thought of long before. Of "y" endings there is no end—"bricky," "scaly," "rushy," "dewy," "rosy," "watery," "massy," "oczy," "sunshiny." It is probable that the use of adjectives as adverbs was due to the loss of the M.E. adverbial ending "e". Whatever the cause, adjective-adverbs are common—"went footing slow," "loose untied"—and even in compounds such as "sweet-breathing," "smooth-sliding," "thin-spun." But as a rule any part of speech may fulfil the function of any other. "Neighbour ground" is an example of a noun doing the work of an adjective. "Shrill" appears as a verb ("to shrill aloud"), as does "joy" (as *joying* in the sight) and "glad" ("to glad many"). Even adverbs may become verbs, as in "Night is nighing fast." It was this elasticity and versatility of their language, no less than its power to assimilate foreign elements, which enabled Elizabethan poets to overcome that fixity of words in which Mr. H. G. Wells has seen the chief obstacle to the adequate expression of the fluidity of thought.

One matter more merits notice in so far as it affected diction, namely, the Elizabethan power to visualise ideas, to translate beauty in the abstract into concrete images. This power, which in the main, expresses itself in the metaphors and personifications, is largely based upon command of the adjective and the preference of "his" and "her" for "its." "Blind mouths," "monstrous world," "wizard stream," "beaked promontory," "Bellerus old," "Thames' broad aged back," "making his stream run slow," "Bid amarantus all his beauty shed," "the gray-fly winds her sultry horn" are simple but by no means exhaustive examples. The same power is to be seen in beautiful periphrases such as "Namancos and Bayona's hold," where the inflectional instead of the prepositional genitive at once personifies Bayona. The quest for adjectives by the Elizabethans, as well as the great use of them by Milton—his flower passage in *Lycidas* leaps to the mind,—is commonplace knowledge; and to Milton's practice the use of the "gradus-epithet" in the eighteenth century has with some plausibility been ascribed. We might with equal plausibility attribute that other characteristic of the eighteenth century—fondness for the personified abstraction—to the Miltonic use of proper names and the general Elizabethan tendency to turn natural phenomena and abstract qualities into palpable and palpitating flesh and blood.

The origin of the "gradus-epithet" and the personified abstraction, however, concern us little. It may be recorded in the passing that these may with some justification be traced, the former to Dryden's quest for beautiful adjectives in order to convey to English ears the beauty of Virgilian epithets, the latter to the practice of Homer and Virgil. But what more closely concerns us is the fact that the adjective, which had been the willing slave of Spenser, in turn became the tyrant of Pope and his fellows; and that the strange images of beauty which had sprung from the imagination of the Elizabethans with "the glory and the freshness of a dream" were, in the

more ambitious but less fertile eighteenth century, replaced by pale ghosts from the underworld of thought.

The change which came over the face of literature during the Restoration period is comparable with that which occurred during the fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries. As Chaucer had been the last and greatest spokesman of the Middle Age, so with "dorique delicacy" Milton summed up the impulses which had created Elizabethan poetry. In the fifteenth century, no new influences (save the Ballad, which, however, had been devoid of immediate results) had appeared to save the language from petrefaction; and when new influences did appear they came slow-footed and halting before the assaults of Wilson and Cheke. At the Restoration, it was the new influences themselves which, strangely enough, tended to generalise and stultify the growth of poetic language. The sojourn of the Court abroad was responsible for the demand of battalions of French word for admittance into English. Gutter terms from the docks and cant terms from political wranglings tended to come flooding in. Charles and his courtiers—zealous patriots (!) started the vogue of vulgar English and Roger L' Estrange's journals corrupted literary taste. Nevertheless, as in all periods of transition, critics arose to discuss the medium of literature. Ascham and Cheke were reincarnated in Bentley and Locke. To these the new foreign terms were as detestable as the new gutter words, while foreign and gutter terms were no more repulsive to the scientific, critical and satirical spirit of the age than were the beautiful epithets of the Elizabethans. A compromise was demanded, a *via media* of poetic speech, a fixed medium which would not alienate taste and good sense. Even the question of an English Academy was mooted. Since the French Academy had been founded by Richelieu, it was argued, there had arisen across the Channel a poetry marked no less by its elegance and polish than by its wit and good breeding. Why should not Englishmen fix their poetic medium in order to produce poetry as elegant and as "witty" as that

of Boileau ? Though in actual fact an English Academy never came into being, Pope and his fellows did make their poetic diction a fixed medium, and in their works "wit" celebrated an unparalled triumph.

Wit, however, had set her foot upon the neck of imagination. It was Milton and the Elizabethans, who, by breaking up Pope's cabal of words and dogma generally, set the prisoner free. The poetic medium of Gray and Collins is in large measure simply a revival of Milton's diction. "Good sense," to be sure, would not yet admit such a large admixture of homely terms as Milton's lyric muse allowed. The sedater muse of the eighteenth century did not find it necessary to interchange parts of speech : nor was she capable of enchanting words into strange harmonies. The use of the adjective too, as was perhaps natural in an age when art had superseded poetic frenzy, came to be a trifle overdone. But on the whole, Collins and Gray made free use of the old Elizabethan poetic diction. In them one continually comes across the familiar "Gallo-Belgic" compound, as in "incense-breathing morn," "solemn-breathing airs," "many-twinkling feet," "feather-cinctured chiefs," "long -resounding pace ;" the old "colour" adjectives, as in "crimson wing," "sable garb," "ruddy drops," "bloody hands," "griesly band," "azure realm," "azure deep of air," "blushing foe," "sanguine cloud," "green lap," "golden keys," "orient hues," "glimmering landscape," "strings symphonious ;" the same old "y" formations, as in "craggy bed," "mazy progress," "rosy crowned loves," "sheeny gold," "gleamy pageant ;" the same tendency to regard rivers as aged men—"old Conway's foaming flood : " and the same fondness for alliteration in noun and adjective, as in "solemn stillness," "foaming flood." The Miltonic habit of placing an adjective especially a monosyllabic adjective—after the noun is not much in evidence ; but the adjective is anything but neglected. Given a substantive, Collins and Gray seem to have thought it incumbent

upon them to support it with an epithet. They out-Milton Milton in this respect. "Twisted mail," "crested pride," "hoary hair," "shaggy side," "faded form," "droning flight," "nightly fears," "troubled air," "seraph wings," "church-way path," "storied urn," "trembling hope" are but a few rambling examples; while the first two stanzas of Collins's *Ode* might serve as a text for a treatise on the "gradus-epithet." Moreover, actual Miltonic words—"nightly" (nocturnal), "meteor," "swain," "bray" (of battle), "skirts" (edges), "warblings," "afield," "storied" "amain," "antic," "frolic" (as an adjective), "fond" (foolish), "sublime" (uplifted), "seraph," "heaves" (raises), "swart," "jocund," "viewless" (invisible), "vernal"—are borrowed wholesale. The euphonious proper names of Milton are replaced largely by personified abstractions, which evoked (but do not always deserve) Coleridge's unqualified censure, but occasionally, as in "Cambria's curse and Cambria's tears," find legitimate and not unworthy successors, and finally, the old Elizabethan fondness for an occasional Latinism is paralleled here. "Sublime," "pious," "sequestered," "science," "expects," "solitude" and other words are used in their strict Latin sense, while in "hoarser murmurs" the comparative, as in the Latin sometimes possibly conveys the sense, of "rather hoarse."

If Gray and Collins are plunderers of language, if Miltonic and classical words form the very warp and woof of their diction, they are not to be considered mere disciples of Vida. They borrow, but they do not exactly plagiarise: for in dressing their themes in borrowed robes they do adapt what they borrow to new purposes. If they sacrifice spontaneity, they often achieve the Virgilian charm of reminiscence. If "nightly fears," "glittering skirts," "drive their team afield," "hoary-headed swain," "desert-cave," "storied urn," "velvet green," "frolic measures," "Delphi's steep," "green lap," "Amazement's flight," "kindred squadrons," "pious

drops," "trembling hope" sound conventional in the eighteenth century, they at least awaken memories of our past delight in the pages of the Elizabethans or the Classics. "Nor ever vernal bee was heard to murmur there," "streamed like a meteor to the troubled air," "that rode sublime upon the seraph-wings of ecstasy," the opening passage of the *Elegy*, "with necks in thunder clothed," "the dauntless child stretched forth his little arms and smiled," and even "the heart-smit heifers" these are good in themselves; and they gain rather than lose by bringing home with the joy of things "recollected in tranquillity" memorable passages in Spenser, Shakespeare, Milton, the *Authorised Version* and Virgil's *Eclogues*. And to delight is the main function of the poet.

Nevertheless, literary reminiscence is not the highest form of poetical delight. In Gray and Collins poetry ceases to be "quotidian" and tugs once more at the heart-strings; it begins again to "fill the impassioned heart, and win the harmonious ear;" yet seldom or never does it create fresh forms of beauty. "The poets' poet" once and for all showed how to build upon contemporary speech a "universal language" for poetry. Collins and Gray by eschewing almost entirely the language of their age rob their poetry of freshness and directness of appeal. Archaisms are not in themselves objectionable: in the hands of great poets they are justified by the event. The wholesale adoption of the literary speech of a past age to the almost entire exclusion of contemporary speech is more reprehensible: but this also, as in the case of the *Authorised Version* and Gray's *Elegy*, can be defended. What is indefensible in poetry is the deliberate neglect of definiteness. Mastery of the detail is the basis of all art, and when a poet substitutes for vivid delineation of significant detail terms which convey formless impressions, he lays himself open to the grave charge of vagueness. Vagueness in itself has often a distinct poetic value, but this poetic value varies in proportion to the poet's power over detail. Spenser's kaleidoscopic

imagery, for instance, never fails to bring the picture clearly to the mind. Eighteenth century poets, however, though there is little doubt that their "middle style" produces a clearness of general argument which is foreign to, say, *Paradise Lost*, are unconvincing in detail. Their fondness for personified abstractions is partly responsible. Sometimes, as in "Youth at the prow and Pleasure at the helm," these come almost with the force of Shelley's "Sleep the filmy-eyed ;" but more often than not, as Coleridge has pointed out, the difference between the personification and the mere abstraction is marked only by the use of a capital. Partly responsible is the use of general instead of particular terms. "Warble" is a beautiful word, but when applied to the song of any and every bird it ceases to convince. "Lawn" and "green," not objectionable in themselves, are worn thin by use and have an irritating habit of being either "margent" or "festive." "Tribe" is quite conceivably a poetic word, but "swart tribes" for Milton's fairies and "feathered tribes" for "birds" are not only indistinct but positively ugly. Most reprehensible of all, perhaps, is the gradus-epithet. Spenser and Milton had chosen adjectives for their musical, pictorial or historical "aura" : in the *Odes* of Collins and Gray epithets are too often determined by the exigencies of metre and the practice of previous poets. Collins's "spreading broom," "skirting way," "excursive sight" are intelligible to the intellect but poetically meaningless : and it is on the "spreading brooms" and "excursive sight" of eighteenth century poetry that the reader's surfeited appetite sickens and dies.

The First Romantic Group of poets, by basing their diction once more upon the common speech of their day, sought to restore to poetry freshness, directness and definiteness of appeal. It is generally recognised that Wordsworth, in prescribing for poetry "the language of rustics," pushed his theory of poetic diction too far. Identifying poetry with religion, he

claimed for "rustic" language that power to appeal strongly to the reason and the feelings of men from which the general conventional and fossilised poetic diction of the eighteenth century had been divorced. His claim, partly justified by his insistence on the use of imagination, was founded on a false hypothesis. Poetry is not religion: and if we believe (as we must believe) with Dryden that poetry instructs only as it delights, we must regard Wordsworth's attempt to unletter language, to deprive words of their derivative meaning and to use them in their pure and original force, to start poetry afresh with words robed of their "colour," as ill-conceived and futile. Moreover, in the matter neither of poetic words nor of poetic detail did Wordsworth in theory uphold the principle of selection. The medium of poetry and the medium of prose were to him identical: not merely significant but also circumstantial detail was to him the object of sacramental care. Nevertheless, if Wordsworth's theory was an exaggeration, it was an exaggeration of a truth; for though a man of genius may now and then successfully use a manufactured medium for poetry, yet for poets generally the surest medium must always be the language, carefully selected, and seasoned, it may be, with "inkhorn" terms, with which they have been familiar from childhood. It is significant that Wordsworth himself, when in inspired mood, carefully selected from the language of his own day; while Shelley, who is perhaps our greatest lyricist, is singularly normal in the matter of words.

In the *Immortality Ode* nearly every word is a common word and every word is calculated to appeal with power to the intellect and the feelings, no less to the imagination. Scarce a single archaism is employed. Adjectives, when they are used at all—as in "common sight," "calm weather," "starry night," "utter nakedness," "natural kind," "perpetual benediction," "homely nurse"—come home with original and convincing force; but as compared with the Odes of Spenser, Milton, Gray and Collins, Wordsworth's *Ode* is destitute of

of these artists in words. Like Dryden, he was willing to "trade with the living and the dead" in his quest for beautiful words. Following the example of Spenser, he was not slow to coin from existing elements or to interchange parts of speech. Perhaps the most artful of romantic poets, he was scrupulously careful with words. He did not consciously "hunt them down" as Chatterton did. Rather did he, as Mr. de Selincourt remarks, accept frankly as his poetic birthright the language of the writers, ancient and modern, whom he read most assiduously and base upon it his own manner of expression. Keats was therefore a literary poet. Like Milton and Gray and Tennyson, he constantly recalls memories of older writers. The following, for instance, is reminiscent of Milton's use of proper names and fondness for elipsis :—

" All were not assembled :
Some chained in torture, and some wandering.
Coeus, and Gyges, and Briareus,
Typhon, and Dolor, and Porphyryon,
With many more——."

" Mammoth brood," "glancing sphere," "marble swart," "orbed fire," "shook horrid" recall Milton and Shakespeare; while old usages are revived in "couchant," "pale wox I," "and the which book," "vermeil," "sovrán," "lorn," "eterne."

More interesting, perhaps, than Keats's borrowings are his positive additions to poetic speech. Following the practice of the Elizabethans, he crowds his poem with freshly minted "y" formations, beautiful compound adjectives and compound nouns, parts of speech endowed with strange functions, and familiar terms from the speech of his day. "Slaty ridge," "briny robes," "scummy marsh;" "at *shut* of eve," "*stubborned* with iron," "to *engine* our great wrath," "his chariot, *foamed*

along," "so young Apollo *anguished*," "to *fever* out," "palm-shaded," "tiger-passioned," "flon-thoughted," "bleak-grown," "spirit-leaved," "farfoamed," "unfooted sea," "branch-charmed," "aspen-malady," "region-whisper"—all these are coined on the best authority and with intent to express exact shades of meaning: all these, moreover, are justified by the event. In a similar fashion, the sole representatives of the "ing" endings to which Mr. de Selincourt takes exception—"destroyings" and "sable curtaining of clouds"—come off with fine effect.

Keats's employment of language is not always impeccable, however. Especially unfortunate are his vulgarisms, words frankly unpoetical or debased by trivial associations. There is something of the burlesque in

" Their clenched teeth still clenched, and all their limbs
Looked up like veins of metal, cramp and screwed,"

and in

" Prone he lay, chin uppermost,
As though in pain ; for still upon the flint
He ground severe his skull with open mouth
And eyes at horrid working."

"Brawniest in assault" is scarcely poetically applicable to a god; and even "gold clouds metropolitan," in spite of the Miltonic order and vowel-music, is a little frayed and down-at-heel. "Explain thy griefs" is weak. "Speak, roar, shout, yell," intended for a climax, is bathos. The vulgar use of "so," "also" and vague "sorts of" expressions is evident in "I strive to search, wherefore I am so (*i.e.*, inconceivably) sad," "Also, when he would taste the spicy wreaths," "In her bearing was a sort of hope." Nor is Keats's touch always sure in his Elizabethan usages. "Open thine eyes and

sphere them round upon all space " is an unconvincing euphuism. "A serpent's plashy neck" and "With sanguine feverous boiling gurge of pulse" are frigidities. Nevertheless, in *Hyperion* as a whole we find, as we found in the Elizabethans, beauty recreated and enthroned and

" 'tis the eternal law

That first in beauty should be first in might."

ARTHUR MOWAT

THE REALITY

Caressingly on naked flesh, the sunlight,
Lingering, draws my drowsy thoughts away
From gods and beggars, nightmares that have plagued me
Since the Algerian hills were lost in grey
Somewhere to leeward; and, in deep content, I
Turn to our unforgotten yesterday.

Time has not wholly dulled our youthful glamour;
Dreamers we were, and are, in spite of Time.
You, crouched myopic over ponderous ledgers,
Have the old ear for music and for rhyme,
And I can still remember you and London
In this remote, unsympathetic clime.

Poplars and dead leaves and the season's quiet ;
The rustling of the leaves, the smell of rain :
These were enough for us, lad, in the old time,
When once a year they steadied bone and brain.
Now I am gone from you and them, and ever
Ebbs youth from us, never to come again.

Of old we found the legendary twilight
And peace the turn-coast years cannot repeal,
Lightness of heart and faith in our endurance—
All the good braveries that reverses steal
From men who pass, watching the wake behind them
Stream out and swirl, relapse, and grow unreal.

And so, while memory's young and heart's enchanted,
We'll muse a little on glories we've outgrown :
Punting together down a rain-swept river,
The firelit cottage that was once our own;
The quarrels and the mutual confessions,
The fun we've shared, the people we have known.

What though the past has fallen from us? Surely
We would not live them over if we could—
Those days that gain in beauty as they crumble,
Dissolve, and crystallise into immortal good :
Deliverance from the hopeless hours before us,
The one reality in our Solitude.

F. V. WELLS

THE INFLUENCE OF INDIAN THOUGHT ON GERMAN PHILOSOPHY AND LITERATURE

Germany received its first news of India from the Greek and Latin authors, who were studied during the Middle Ages in the schools of the monasteries and who absorbed more and more of the interest of the educated classes of the nation during the time of the Humanists. Indian influence on Greek Philosophy is found in Pythagoras, with the Neo-Platonics and Gnostics, the influence of Indian legends on the devotional books of the Christians—I am thinking of the apocrypha, of the story of Barlaam and Josaphat—all these found their echo indirectly in our intellectual life, although we are unable to state distinctly how far it reached. Certainly there are amazing coincidences between the doctrines of the German mystics like Meister Eckehard and the grand conceptions of the Upanishads, but Indian influence cannot have worked directly. On our mysticism it must have come through the mediation of a long chain of links, if it actually existed at all. Many scholars are of opinion that mystic ideas of the One, which manifests itself in every life, may have originated independently in the various countries, so that we can talk here rather of parallelism than of dependence. If we cannot trace the influence of Indian ideas in the dim-obscurity of the German mediæval mysticism, but only assume an inner relationship, the case is quite different as regards literature, where Indian influence is evident. Of many stories it can be proved that they wandered from India to the West, although it is impossible for us to follow the stages of the way which the various stories took to get to Germany and which form they assumed before they made a home for themselves in our German literature. The way, for example, which the Panchatantra took is quite clear before our eyes. This celebrated fable-work was translated by command of Eberhard "with the Beard" by Anton von Pforr into German, of course, not from the original Sanskrit but from a Latin

translation, which itself was derived from Hebrew, Arabian and Pahlavi versions.

Better knowledge of India and its literature, however, did not come to Germany till after the discovery of the maritime route to the East-Indies by Vasco da Gama in 1498, when European travellers visited India and reported of all they had seen and heard. The credit of having for the first time translated an Indian text direct from the original into a European language belongs to a Dutchman, the missionary Abraham Roger, who worked in Paliacatta (north of Madras) in 1630. Roger left a voluminous work which appeared in Dutch at Leyden under the title of "Open Door to the Hidden Paganism," of which a German translation appeared already in Nuremberg in 1663. At the end of his work Roger gave a prose-translation of 200 maxims of the Sanskrit poet Bhartrihari—the 100 verses of the third century of the Shringâra-Shataka he did not dare to give to his readers. These 200 maxims, the translation of which Roger made with the help of the Brahmin Padmanâbha, form the first instance of Indian literature which became known in Germany after the Panchatantra. Roger's work for a long time remained the chief source, from which the West drew its knowledge of the religion and the literature of the Hindus. Even Goethe and Herder are still influenced by it. Gradually the acquaintance with the culture of the land of the Ganges became broader, but the circumstances were so that the information on Indian religions were often incorrect. One of the chief sources on which the 18th century relied, was a translation of the "Ezour-Veda." This work was supposed to be a commentary to the Vedas, in which Christian occidental monotheism was taught, but was in fact a forgery used by missionaries for the purpose of conversion.

Actual investigation of Indian literature only began at the end of the 18th century. From that time on we can talk of an increasing influence on Western thought by the Indian world of ideas. The first Sanskrit scholars were Englishmen: Sir

Charles Wilkins, the translator of the Bhagavadgītā, Sir William Jones, the translator of the Shakuntalā, of the Gita-govinda, of the Ordinances of Manu, and so on, Sir Henry Thomas Colebrooke, the expounder of Indian philosophy, H. H. Wilson, the translator of the Meghadūta; then we have the Frenchman Anquetil Du Perron, who translated the Upanishads from the Persian versions of Sultan Darashekoh. From the work of these men and other scholars German poets and thinkers drew their knowledge of the spirit of Indian thought. A glance at the works of our German classical writers shows how amazing was the influence of Indian ideas on the great men from the very first, when they became acquainted with them. Already Herder (1774-1813), the prominent poet and philosopher who lived as a divine in Weimar, showed a great and so-to-say loving interest for India; in his "Thoughts on the Philosophy of the History of Mankind" (1784-1791) and other writings of his he speaks of his admiration for the "tender Indian philosophy," which cannot but ennoble mankind; he describes the Hindus, on account of their ethical teachings, as the most gentle people on the earth, who, as he says in consideration of their doctrine of "ahimsā," will not offend a living creature, he praises their frugality, their loathing of drunkenness. In his "Scattered Leaves" he speaks more than once of the Indian Wisdom, he mentions the transmigration of souls and in his "Talks on the Conversion of the Hindus by our European Christians" he allows an Indian to defend his religious ideas and praises their humanity, although he himself was a Protestant theologian.

A great interest for Indian ideas we also see in Herder's friend Goethe, the greatest of all German poets. Well-known are his inspired verses on the Shakuntalā, where he says (I am giving a proof translation):

Wilt thou unite in one name heaven and earth,
Then I name you, Shakuntalā, you, and all is said !

That this impression conceived at the first reading—the distich dates from the year 1791—was not evanescent is proved by the following letter addressed to the French Sanskrit scholar Chézy, to whom Goethe wrote 40 years later, on the 9th October, 1830. He says: “The first time when my notice was drawn to this unfathomable work, it aroused in me such an enthusiasm, it attracted me in such a way that I could not be quiet until I studied it profoundly and felt myself drawn to the impossible undertaking to gain it for the German stage in some way.....I grasp only now the inconceivable impression which this work formerly made on me. Here the poet appears at his highest, as representative of the natural state, of the most subtle wisdom of life, of the purest moral endeavour, of the most dignified majesty and the most earnest contemplation of God ; at the same time he remains nevertheless lord and master of his creation, so that he may dare to employ vulgar and laughable contrasts, which must be regarded as necessary connecting links on the organized whole.” In this high idea of the Shakuntalâ Goethe stood not alone. Schiller also has expressed the opinion that the whole Greek antiquity has produced nothing equal to the beautiful womanliness and the tender love that comes near to the Shakuntalâ in any way. Of other Indian poems Goethe, as can be gathered from his letters, has especially admired the Meghadûta and the Gîtâgovinda. The impulses coming from India gave a deal of stimulation to Goethe’s own poetical works. Indian subjects were treated in his poems “Der Gott und die Bayadere” (1797) and the “Pariah-trilogy.” The Indian drama has influenced his “Faust” technically, as his Prologue on the Theatre shows. For Indian art and philosophy, on the other hand, he had not the right understanding. Imbued with the teaching of Greek antiquity, it was impossible for him to recognise the greatness of the art so different from all Western ideas and to estimate correctly the individuality of Indian wisdom. Goethe himself did not know Sanskrit. Still it attracted him so much that he made attempts in writing

in Devanâgarî letters, which one can still see in the Goethe-Archive.

We, however, find a more thorough-going knowledge of Indian literature among our Romantic poets. That just the Romantic poets were attracted by Indian literature and philosophy is easily explained by their views of life. In Indian thought they found their ideal of the absolute union of poetry and philosophy realised. The first to be mentioned here are the three brothers Schlegel. One of them, Karl August, who has made no name in literature, has visited India and died young in Madras in 1789. Another, Friedrich (1772-1829) is the first German, who endeavoured to really study Indian literature and its problems. Whilst he was in Paris in 1803 he learned Sanskrit, in which he was aided by an English officer, Alexander Hamilton, who was prevented from returning home by the outbreak of hostilities between England and France. The result of his study was his epoch-making treatise "Ueber die Sprache und Weisheit der Indier. Ein Beitrag zur Begründung der Altertumskunde" (On the language and wisdom of the Indians. A contribution to the foundation of antiquity), which appeared in 1808. This work had a far-reaching effect by its call "to throw light on the hitherto totally obscure fields of the remotest antiquity," by its universal conception of the history of literature which was evinced here. Friedrich Schlegel was the first man in Germany who declared that a regular history of the literature of the world is only possible, if the Asiatic nations get their due place in it. But still more than Friedrich Schlegel, who soon ceased to take an interest in India, his elder brother August Wilhelm Schlegel (1767-1845) influenced the study of Sanskrit. Friedrich Schlegel had stimulated and excited the interest in India, but had himself not the energy and time to go deeply into the study and to discover new treasures, but August Wilhelm, thanks to his amazing power of entering into totally different literary ideas, became the real founder of Sanskrit philology on German soil. As he had formerly

distinguished himself as the translator of Shakespeare, Calderon, Dante, and Petrarca and as a poet of ballads and satires, he in his later years took up, in 1814, the study of Sanskrit with the enthusiasm of a young man. In 1818 he was appointed to become the first professor of Indology at Bonn. He conceived it to be his task to apply the principles of classical philology to Indian texts. His standard editions of the Bhagavadgītā, the "Hitopadesa," and the "Rāmāyana" (unfinished) with critical commentaries and translations in classical Latin were the first works of this kind in Germany printed in Devanāgarī letters and show that this romantic poet was equally gifted as a first-class philologist. At the same time as A.W. Schlegel, Franz Bopp (1791-1867) had studied Sanskrit in Paris. Whilst the former especially interested himself in the literature of the land of the Ganges, Bopp (since 1821 he was professor at the University of Berlin) devoted his time to linguistics. He also edited and translated some texts, but his valuable work lies not in this direction but in his grammatical books. The immortal service of Bopp has done for the world is that he gave comparative philology the rank of a science. He did not make the similar sound of words, which might be a matter of chance or caused through its origin, the base of his investigations, but he investigated the flexion and the whole build of words, in fact, the whole formation of the language, and thereby made it evident that most European as well as the Persian and Indian languages had their origin in a primitive language as yet unfound. By this Bopp became the founder of the Indo-German science of languages, which was cultivated for a long time by the Indologists together with Sanskrit philology and had a most useful influence on it in many ways. We see here that India has also greatly stimulated German science in the domain of linguistics. The thanks which comparative philology owes to India, is expressed by the fact that a number of Indian *termini technici* are still in use employed in comparative grammars. Indian philology as founded by Schlegel and Bopp

has enjoyed a cultivation since their time as is found in no other European country. The number of Sanskrit scholars and professors is greater in Germany than in any occidental country. This is significant in so far, as the Germans are swayed only by ideal, not by practical reasons, as they have no political ambitions to follow. They share Heinrich Heine's opinion, who says in a note to his "Buch der Lieder" (Book of Songs): "Portuguese, Dutchmen, and Englishmen have brought home from India the treasures in their big ships, we were only lookers-on. But the spiritual treasures of India shall not escape us." The work of Schlegel and Bopp has been continued by Lassen, Weber, Roth, Boehtlingk, Max Müller, Buehler, Kielhorn, Oldenberg and numerous other eminent scholars. The quiet, unobtrusive work of these scholars has greatly influenced the history of literature and religion, but its influence on literature and philosophy has only been indirect. I must abstain here from setting forth the history of German Indology and of tracing the direct influences, which German science has exercised on the spiritual life of the nation. I must limit myself, on the contrary to sketching only the direct influences of Indian thought on German poets and thinkers..

Here I must mention above all two men, who were both in friendly relations with Bopp and won many friends for Indian literature in Germany, Wilhelm von Humboldt and Friedrich Rueckert. Humboldt (1767-1835) was a minister of state of the Prussian king Friedrich Wilhelm III. He belonged to the statesmen who at the same time, took an interest in science. Humboldt had a fine understanding for the individuality of Indian ideas and has shown it especially in his treatise on the Bhagavadgîtâ. He says of this work: "It is perhaps the profoundest and most sublime work which the world has ever known," and said of his first reading of the Gîtâ "my permanent feeling was gratitude to the fate that I could live to read this work...." The accomplished poet Friedrich Rückert (1788-1866) has won immortal fame by his congenial and absolutely

perfect translations from the Sanskrit. He has bestowed his attention on the Vedas, the Epics and Purânas and also above all to the learned poetry. Of all the versions of Indian originals the best known is perhaps that of the "Nala and Damayantî" episode from the Mahâbhârata, but his art of translation is best proved by his translation of the "Gita-govinda." Here he has succeeded in giving a true version of the original text but also in recreating the rhythm and the plays on words and rhymes in perfect imitation till no wish is left unsatisfied. As a poetic interpreter of Indian poetry Rückert is still supreme in Germany, and the attempts of others to metrically render Indian works show plainly that Rückert is not to be surpassed—I am thinking of Adolf Holtzmann (1810-1870) and Count A.F. von Schack.

It is unnecessary to show what is obvious that, considering the intimate connection between literature and philosophy in Germany, philosophy also has been influenced more and more as time advanced from India. The father of modern philosophy in Germany, however, Immanuel Kant (1724-1804) hardly knew anything of Indian philosophy, as chance expressions on Oriental thoughts show. That some results of Kantian thought often coincide with the doctrines of Indian philosophical systems, cannot be denied, but we cannot therefore assume that Kant was influenced by Indian thought. It is the case rather that thinkers arrive at similar conclusions on totally different paths. For instance, Kant's theory of knowledge with its differentiation between the physical world conceived in space and time and the unknowable thing in itself lying beyond these forms of conception are similar to a certain extent to the Mâyâ-doctrine of Shankara, so that, according to Paul Deussen, Kant may be said to have "given the scientific basis for the intuitive doctrine of Shankara."¹ We also find certain parallels between the

¹ Paul Deussen : On the Philosophy of the Vedanta in its Relations to Occidental Metaphysics, Bombay, 1898. Dissimilarities between Kant and Shankara F. O. Schrader points out in his treatise "Mâyâ and Kantianism," Berlin, 1904.

Kantian and the Buddhistic philosophy. It is, for instance, a fact that Kant declared a number of questions to be unsolvable ("antinomies of the rational cosmology"), which is comparable to Buddha's refusal to answer questions like "Has the world a beginning or not," "Is it finite or eternal" and so on.² Th. Stcherbatsky has called our attention to similarities between lines of thought of Kant and later Buddhistic thinkers like Chandrakīrti.³ To the same Russian scholar we also owe the proof that Kant's doctrine of the categorical imperative has its counterpart in Brahmanic philosophy.⁴ Besides, he has had predecessors in his aesthetics in Indian writers on poetics, as H. Jacobi has shown.⁵

All these interesting and important but not everywhere accepted items I mention to show you how manifold relations between Kant's modes of thought and Indian philosophy can be adduced. To the subject treated here, i.e., the influence of Indian thought on the philosophy of Germany, everything mentioned here is only loosely connected, because Kant, as I have said before, had no knowledge of the Indian doctrines, to which many parallels can be found in his works. In his time Sanskrit philology was still so backward that it was quite impossible for him to know anything about it.

It is a similar case with Kant's successors. In Fichte's (1762-1814) essay "Anweisung zu einem seligen Leben" (Hints for a blessed life) a number of sentences may be quoted, in which he comes near to the Advaita doctrine most amazingly. These analogies are partly so strong, that R. Otto has even attempted to give whole passages of Fichte in the language of

² R. O. Franke: Kant und die altindische Philosophie in "Zur Erinnerung an Immanuel Kant" Halle, 1904, pp. 187-189.

³ Th. Stcherbatsky: The Conception of Buddhist Nirvāṇa, Leningrad, 1927, pp. 107, 153-154, 160-161, 208.

⁴ Th. Stcherbatsky in an essay of the Russian Academy of Science. Petrograd, 1918, pp. 859-70.

⁵ H. Jacobi: "Die Poetik und Aesthetik der Indier." Internationale Wochenschrift für Wissenschaft, Kunst u. Technik. 4th year (1910), column 1879 and following.

Shankara.⁶ In Hegel (1770-1831) we can also find parallels to Indian philosophy,⁷ and especially regarding his dialectics and that of the great Mahâyâna teacher Nâgârjuna. Th. Stcherbatsky says thereon: "Hegel in his 'Phaenomonologie des Geistes' challenges common sense to point out some object which is certainly known for what, in our experience, it is, and solves the question by stating that all we really know of the object is its 'thisness,' all its remaining content is relative. This is the exact meaning of the 'Tathâtâ,' or of 'suchness,' of the Mahâyânist, and Relativity, as we have seen, is the exact meaning of the term 'shûnyatâ.' We further see the full application of the method which maintains that we can truly define an object only by taking explicit account of other objects, with whom it is contrasted, that debarring this contrast, the object becomes 'devoid' of any content, and that both the opposites coalesce in some higher unity which embraces them both. The facts are knowable only as interrelated, and the universal law of Relativity is all that is properly meant by reality. Both philosophers assure us that Negativity (shûnyatâ) is the Soul of the Universe, 'Negativität ist die Seele der Welt.' Reducing the world of fact to a realm of universal relativity, this implies that every thing cognisable is false, transient and illusory, but that the constitution of the real world depends upon this very fact. Even sensations and sense data (rûpa) which first appeared as ultimate realities, we then gradually discover to stand in relations without which they prove to be meaningless. Relativity or negativity, is really the Soul of the Universe."

Hegel has evolved his system independently. The parallels with Nâgârjuna, which Stcherbatsky has discovered, are mere coincidences of some particular results, which he has arrived at from totally different starting points as Nâgârjuna. If Hegel lived still, he would certainly be vastly astonished at Stcher-

⁶ R. Otto : "Westöstliche Mystik," Gotha, 1926, p. 80, etc.

⁷ Stcherbatsky : "The Conception of Buddhist Nirvâna," Leningrad, 1927, p. 53.

batsky's comments, for all that he had heard of Indian philosophy—of Nāgārjuna he knew nothing—had made no impression on him at all, so that in his writings he rejected everything Indian more or less roughly.

The case is quite different with Schelling (1775-1854). As it is well known Schelling has during his long life laid down more than one system. His interest for India was very lively, especially in his later life, when he worked at his "Philosophie der Mythologie und Offenbarung" (Philosophy of Mythology and Revelation) and lived absorbed in theosophical ideas. He admired the Upanishads, thought them the oldest wisdom of mankind and induced Max Müller to translate some of them for him in 1845.⁸ He placed the Upanishads higher than the Biblical books and said of the latter that "they can in no way be compared as regards real religious feeling with many others of former and later times, especially the sacred writings of India."

Of the philosophers mentioned hitherto, we could only trace an isolated parallelism of ideas and as to Schelling, Indian influence on his system can be found only for a time, but we see in Schopenhauer⁹ (1788-1860) a thinker who acknowledges that he has received from India a powerful stimulation for his own system. Schopenhauer was first introduced, whilst he lived in Weimar, in 1814, to Indian antiquity by the Orientalist Friedrich Majer. Since that time he never lost his interest in Indian thought. The library, which he left at his death, contained numerous Indological works. He admired the Upanishads highly, which he used to read in the Latin translation made by Anquetil Duperron from the Persian "Oupnekhat" as a devotional book. His enthusiastic words with which he praised the "Oupnekhat" are well known. He said: "It is wonderful how the 'Oupnekhat' breathes the

⁸ Max Müller: "Damals und Jetzt" Deutsche Rundschau XLI, 1884, p. 416.

⁹ Max Hecker: "Schopenhauer und die Indische Philosophie?" Köln, 1897.

holy spirit of the Vedas throughout! It is wonderful how he, who reads this Persian-Latin version of this incomparable work diligently and assiduously, is affected and stirred by this spirit in his inmost heart! Every line is so full of firm, defined, and thoroughly consequential meaning! And on every page we discover deep, original, sublime thoughts, whilst a high and holy earnest hovers over the whole. We breathe Indian air and original, spontaneous existence. And how the spirit is purified of all Jewish superstition drummed into us in youth and all philosophy slaving to support it! It is the most profitable and elevating reading (except the original texts) possible in the world; it is my comfort in life and will be my comfort when I die."

Beside the Vedānta he occupied himself especially with Buddhism. He signified this outwardly by placing a Tibetan Buddha statue in his study. The backward state of Indian studies in his time makes it excusable that Schopenhauer did not always clearly distinguish the various Indian systems and that he commits mistakes now and then. Although we of to-day see many things in a different light than Schopenhauer did a century ago, we cannot but marvel at the deep insight into Indian thought this great thinker acquired, if we consider the small means that were at his disposal. He often gives enthusiastic expression of his admiration for Indian wisdom. In the doctrines of the old Rishis he sees "almost superhuman conceptions," in the Indian religions he finds the "oldest wisdom of humanity," and predicts even a return to Indian wisdom, which "would cause a revolution in our ways of thought and science."¹⁰

Schopenhauer says of himself: "I acknowledge that I owe the best part of my development beside the impression of the outward world, to the works of Kant and to the holy scriptures of the Hindus and to Plato."¹¹ More than once he points out

¹⁰ "Welt als Wille und Vorstellung," II, p. 187.

¹¹ "Welt als Wille und Vorstellung," I, p. 538.

that his own system, is in accordance with Indian doctrines. If we wish to ascertain how far this assertion of Schopenhauer is true we must first of all give a short review of his system. Schopenhauer is an adherent of the subjective idealism of Kant. He says : " The world is my conception." The thing in itself, which appears in subjective perception of space and time, is, according to him, not an unrecognisable something, but that which within us manifests itself as will. This will appears in the world in various stages of objectivation. In itself it is independent of every cognition. Only at the stage of the animal kingdom it produces the intellect, lights for itself the candle, that makes it conscious of the outward world : now the world is seen as something objective, *i.e.*, as something cognisable for the recognizing subject. Thus the whole of nature from the unorganic to mankind is a number of stages of various forms of objectivation of a single undivided world-will. As the centre of all existence is the will, *i.e.*, after the definition of Schopenhauer a groundless, blind impulse, an unconscious instinct towards existence, all life is suffering. The will never finds a lasting content, for a short time a desire may be fulfilled and thereby a temporary lack of cheerlessness may be caused, but this state does not last long, because a new desire awakes, which strives for gratification. From the suffering of existence one may become free by reducing the will to silence. This is possible for a certain time in aesthetical contemplation. In the disinterested, self-contained contemplation of a work of art the subject forgets for a moment his distress. As soon as he returns to the world, he is seized all the stronger by the sorrow of existence. A really lasting liberation from the sorrow of existence is therefore only possible, if the will to live is radically denied. Not suicide, which destroys the body but not the will, but only detachment from all human desires brings liberation. The asceticism of holy men brings salvation : " with the free negation of the will to live all appearances disappear by which the world exists." " No will, no power of conception, no

world." The state of him, from whom the many coloured deceitful dreams of the world has departed, is the Nirvâna; what remains after the total cession of the will is for those who are still full of will merely nothing. But on the other hand for those in whom will has turned and denies itself this our so real world with all its suns and milky ways is—nothing.

This short sketch of the fundamental ideas of Schopenhauer shows clearly that his doctrine forms itself an independent, original work, in its totality it cannot be compared with any European and Indian system. Nevertheless we find in it, besides thoughts which are derived from Kant and Plato, also a number of Indian ideas. The pessimistic view of the world of Schopenhauer is Indian, his recommendation of asceticism is Indian as is also his doctrine of the Nirvâna. The theory of the power of the Karma, which is closely connected with the doctrine of salvation and rebirth we also find in Schopenhauer, although he only hints at them.¹² A very important conformity above all we find in Schopenhauer's conviction of the unimportance of the world's history, in which he is in accordance with all Indian systems. In opposition to the Christian doctrine and the teaching of most European philosophers, who regard the world as a process of development limited by time, Schopenhauer sees in the world something which is in continual motion but which in its inner self always remains the same. There is a development of single individuals from the lowest stages of existence to asceticism, to the Nirvâna, but there can be no creation of the world out of nothing and no state of final perfection, to which the cosmos strives to attain. If one likes one can find in Schopenhauer certain parallels to Indian aesthetics, as he regards the aesthetic contemplation as a temporary relief from the chains of the will. One may refer here to some occasional formulations of the Alankâra literature, where the superpersonal, superhuman desire of him, who enjoys a work of art, is compared with the perception of the oneness of the Self and the universal spirit,

¹² "Welt als Wille und Vorstellung," II, p. 590.

which the *Yogī* reaches on the summit of religious concentration.¹⁸ Schopenhauer, however, could have no knowledge of this ; he based his views on the Platonic doctrine of ideas. .

As we have already seen, Schopenhauer believed that two systems were intimately allied with his own : the Vedānta and Buddhism. Let us therefore shortly ascertain what his doctrine has in common with these two and in which points they diverge.

With the Vedānta of Shankara Schopenhauer is persuaded that the world may be described as having empiric reality, but that in the highest sense it possesses no transcendental reality. All the variegated appearances are for him only a delusion, the only real thing is the " thing in itself," which knows no separation by space and time. Whilst, however, for the Vedānta what exists is our eternally blessed spirituality, the *Brahma*, that is characterized by the attributes *Sat*, *Cit*, and *Ānanda*, it is for Schopenhauer a blind and therefore unblessed will. Thought is an instrument produced by the will, there is no immaterial soul. Therefore Schopenhauer cannot acknowledge the transmigration of souls, but only the manifestation of the will of a deceased person. Salvation does not consist, as the Vedānta teaches in the realisation of the all-embracing *Brahma*, which is pure blessedness, but in the self-negation of the eternally unfulfilled and therefore eternally sorrowful will. On the other hand Schopenhauer's foundation of morality resembles that of the Vedānta : the metaphysical basis of all morality is according to him the doctrine of monistic pantheism, the doctrine of " *tat tvam asi*". He says himself that his metaphysics of ethics had been the fundamental thought of Indian wisdom thousands of years ago to which he returns, as Copernicus did, to the world-system of the Pythagoreans deposed by that of Aristotle and Ptolemaeus. As a proof he quotes the celebrated verses 13, 27, 28 of the *Bhagavadgītā* :

¹⁸ *Rasagangādhara*, Bombay, 1894, p. 23.

“Who, however, sees the supreme God live in all beings, who never vanishes, when they vanish, who sees him, is really seeing. For he who sees the same God live in everything, will not hurt himself, through himself and thus walks the highest path.”

Like the Vedānta, Schopenhauer assumes a higher and a lower cognition, to which latter he counts the doctrine of salvation taught by the great religions in a mythical form. Accordingly Christianity as well as Brahmanism and Buddhism are a sort of popular metaphysics ; they are supposed to contain the chief points of the philosophy of affirmation and negation of the will. Schopenhauer, however, has not developed this point of his system in the same way as Shankara, so that in his teaching, although he occasionally talks of providence, all theistic undercurrents are missing.

Although Schopenhauer often refers to Buddhism and his doctrine has often been called “Buddhistic,” the resemblances to special Buddhistic doctrines are not so numerous with him as those to the Vedānta. Much of that which reminds one of Buddhism in his system is not a special property of the religion of Gautama, but rather of general Indian origin. The characteristic points of the Buddhistic system, as the doctrine that there is no existence but only continual change, the denial of a Self, the theory of the Dharmas, which co-operate according to certain laws, exist only for a moment and are continually renewed, all this we do not find in Schopenhauer. A certain parallel we find in his doctrine of re-birth without adopting the transmigration of souls, in which he directly refers to Buddhism but does not go into details about it. His “will” doubtlessly has some traits in common with the Buddhistic “Trishnâ,” but we do not find in the original Buddhism, which denies the idea of the absolute altogether, the tendency to convert the Trishnâ to the thing in itself that manifests itself in the outward world of sorrow and change. We may, however, point out that some interpreters of Buddhism,

as for instance F. O. Schrader,¹⁴ regard the "Trishnâ" as a metaphysical centre-point of the Buddhistic doctrine and thus give it a position which coincides with Schopenhauer's will as the pith of every individual. This interpretation does not, in my opinion, correspond with the facts. The Buddhistic conception, however, of Nirvâna is closely allied with Schopenhauer's view (as the above-mentioned quotation shows) in so far that our conceptions cannot be applied to the Nirvâna, as they are incommensurable with them. Further points of comparison are the denial of the assumption of a world-ruling god, the condemnation of an outward, self-tormenting asceticism, and above all the moral laws, the fulfilling of which is a necessary condition for the attainment of salvation. We have so far brought only the older Buddhism into comparison. Further parallels with the Mahâyâna-Buddhism can be adduced, as it comes very close to the Vedânta in its doctrine¹⁵ and has some features in common with Schopenhauer's morality of pity in his altruistic ethics.

What we have said shows that Schopenhauer's philosophy has received many an impulse from Indian systems and harmonises with them in many respects. It is, however, not allowable to identify it with any particular doctrine. All that we have said proves that Schopenhauer's metaphysics of the will are neither identical with the teaching of the Vedânta nor that of Buddhism, and further we must consider and keep before our eyes the fact that philosophic systems, which take birth at different times in different countries and arise from different assumptions, though they may lead to similar results, can never be totally the same.

Since the middle of the last century Schopenhauer has exercised a great influence on German thought. It is due to him

¹⁴ F. O. Schrader: "Ueber den Stand der Indischen Philosophie aus der Zeit Mahāvīras und Buddhas," Strassburg, 1902, p. 5.

¹⁵ On the relations between Vedânta and Mahâyâna Professor Surendranath Dasgupta in his great "History of Indian Philosophy" has given ample evidence.

more than to any other that the interest of the German mind for the grand conceptions of Indian Philosophy was awakened. From Schopenhauer on we trace a number of thinkers who have followed up his system in various ways. Among the disciples of Schopenhauer it is fitting that we first mention the great Indologist, the late Paul Deussen, who was Professor of Philosophy in the University of Kiel. In his "Elemente der Metaphysik" and in his works devoted to the history of philosophy he has especially insisted on the similarities between Schopenhauer and the Vedānta system. In opposition to him the well-known translator of the Pāli dialogues of Gautama Buddha, Karl Eugen Neumann (1865-1915) has laid stress especially on the close relationship between Schopenhauer's metaphysics and the Buddhistic doctrine.¹⁶ Among the thinkers who started from Schopenhauer's philosophy, but developed his doctrine independently we will make special mention of Philipp Mainländer (pseudonym for Philipp Batz), 1841-1876, who wrote a drama on Buddha and thought to promulgate the esoteric gist of the Buddha-doctrine in his "Philosophie der Erlösung" (Philosophy of Salvation), but only gave a clear construction of his own, which had little to do with Buddhism. Schopenhauer's influence on Eduard von Hartmann (1842-1906) can only be regarded as moderate. Hartmann tries to give a synthesis of the idea of Hegel and Schopenhauer in an independent way in his "Philosophie des Unbewussten" (Philosophy of the Unconscious). He rejects asceticism, and his philosophy of history, in which he regards the world-process as the incarnation, the passion and the finally expected salvation of the Absolute, is opposed to the doctrines of most Indian systems. Still he must be mentioned here because Indian influence can be traced in his writings. In his philosophy of history he teaches that the religion of the future will be a "concrete monism," which will be a combination of the abstract

¹⁶ See, e.g., his introduction to his translation of the Dhammapada (the Path to Truth), Leipzig, 1893, p. 116.

pantheism of the Vedānta and the Judæo-Christian monotheism. That parallels can be found in various points of his system and in Indian doctrines, he has shown himself, when he declares that in one place of the Vedānta work "Pancadasha-prakarana," his "world-principle, the Unconscious, is characterized better and more exactly than by any one of the latest European thinkers."¹⁷

Through Schopenhauer, Friedrich Nietzsche (1844-1900) also became acquainted with Indian ascetic philosophy, but was afterwards a strong opponent of it, but he had always a high regard for the social philosophy of the Laws of Manu. Richard Wagner (1813-1883), the great composer, who was at first an admirer of Nietzsche, but became his enemy later on, remained an ardent admirer of Indian religions all his life, thus following Schopenhauer, although he has vacillated a good deal in his personal views. In his operas we meet with many Buddhistic ideas; in 1855 he made a sketch of a great musical drama "Die Sieger" (the Victors), the source of which was a story of the Divyâvadâna.¹⁸ Buddhistic subjects have later been treated more than once in operas. I only mention here Max Vogrich's "Buddha" (1901) and Adolf Vogl's "Mâyâ" (1905). Of the rather large number of dramas based on Indian subjects I mention Michael Beer's tragedy "Der Paria," Ferdinand von Hornstein's "Buddha" (1899), Gottfried von Bœhm's "Rishya-shringa" (1909), Leopold von Schröder's "Dârâ oder Schah Dschehan und seine Söhne," and especially Karl Gjellerup's "Das Weib des Vollendeten" (The wife of the Perfect) (1907). Of the poems which treat of Buddha's life in epic form Josef Victor Widmann's "Buddha" must be mentioned first of all. Among the authors who treat Indian subjects in novels the most remarkable are Karl Gjellerup in his "Pilger Kamanîta"

¹⁷ E. von Hartmann: "Philosophie des Unbewussten" (Philosophy of the Unconscious), 11th edition, Leipzig, 1904, I, 28.

¹⁸ Compare for the following; Pero Slepcevic "Buddhismus in der deutschen Literatur," Wien, 1920.

and "Die Weltwanderer" and Hermann Hesse in his beautiful story "Siddhartha." In German lyrical poetry we also frequently meet with Indian ideas, but the limit accorded to my time forbids me from investigating it further.¹⁹

The scholars, philosophers and poets, who endeavoured to propagate Indian ideas in Germany were few, and they talked to a few. There are, however, a number of associations with more or less firm organisations, which regard it as their task to spread Indian doctrines directly and indirectly. Of these I mention first of all the spiritualistic, occultistic, and especially theosophic societies, which appeal to large circles and strive to make Indian religions widely known. The percentage of ideas derived from India varies according to the different groups and schools very much. The theosophists of the school of Mrs. Besant show most of this percentage, whilst with the anthroposophy of Dr. Rudolf Steiner, which has more adherents in Germany, the Indian element is kept more in the background. Indian views of the world are directly propagated by societies like that of the "Friends of Indian Wisdom" in Hagen, Westphalia. They lay especial emphasis on the Vedānta philosophy. A regular Vedānta Society, which performs divine service, does not exist in Germany as it does in New York. Buddhism, however, has small communities in Germany, which are pretty numerous. It is a proof of the great interest which is taken in the doctrine of Gautama, that several Buddhistic periodicals appear which interpret the "Dharma" of the lion of the Shākya race in various ways. Most German Buddhists belong to the laity, but some have tried to go "the path from home to homelessness," some have adopted the yellow garment in Ceylon or Burma, and others endeavour to practise the ascetic principles of Buddha in their homes. In Frohnau near Berlin

¹⁹ Some information is given by Slepoevic "Buddhismus in der deutschen Literatur," pp. 991-92, and by Th. Simon "Das Wiedererwachendes Buddhismus und seine Einflüsse auf unsere Geisteskultur" (The Re-awaking of Buddhism and its influence on our spiritual Culture), Stuttgart, 1903, p. 22 and following,

a Buddhistic monastery was founded some years ago, the members of which directed by a physician, who also wrote a good deal on the subject, Dr. Paul Dahlke, devote their time to ascetic exercises.

As is shown by what we have said the German public is especially interested in the religions, the philosophical systems and the classic literature of old India. The extraordinary success Rabindranath Tagore had with his lectures in Germany, the many readers the works of Gandhi have found in German translations prove that the interest of the German people in the spiritual life of modern India is very great. It is little more than a century that Indian wisdom and Indian poetry have extended their "Digvijaya" to the West. At the beginning of the last century India was no more than a word, except to a few, but to-day its spiritual treasures are well known to all the educated people and are estimated at their full worth. Much, however, is still to be done to make known the great creations of the Indians more and more to the general public, but everyone who knows anything about it will be of my opinion that in no country of the Continent a greater interest exists in Indian thoughts and ideas than in Germany. One may see in this a spiritual sympathy and affinity that keeps near to a friend also from afar, as is expressed in a Sanskrit verse of extreme beauty :

दूरस्थोऽपि न दूरस्थः स्वजनानां सुहृत्जनः ।

चन्द्रः कुसुदखंडातां दूरस्थोऽपि प्रबोकावः ॥

HELMUTM VON GLASENAPP

THE TYRANNY OF THE BODY

"Man is a mechanism of a very special kind of inconceivable complexity."

Geo. A. Dorsey.

There are times when we can but feel sincere sympathy for the man who committed suicide, and left a note simply stating, *'That he was tired of buttoning and unbuttoning'*...which process often becomes monotonous, and monotony is the curse of life, and will often induce madness or death.

Order, or system, is the first law of the Universe, 'tis true; but it will not do to allow existence to become too mechanical, for machines wear out, or go to wreck and ruin when imposed upon.

We read in the Bible "that the years of a man's life are three-score-years-and-ten" and we are told that a man should sleep eight hours, work eight hours, and recreate eight hours out of the twenty-four hours that comprise a day; then, supposing a man lives to be seventy years old, he would have consumed a little over twenty-three years in sleep—which seems a great waste of our very limited time; for, *'when we're dead, we're a long time dead !'* When we consider our mere Body, and realize its constant demand upon our time, our desires and freedom, we are simply appalled ! We are born, we live, we suffer, we die,...and then what ?

The intrinsic value of the human body is said to be a little over eight dollars, when reduced to its component parts, *viz.*, sugar, salt, phosphorus, ash, lime, fat, etc.—we cannot feel much vanity when we think of this !

Robert Collier says, in his remarkable work, "The Secret of the Ages," "Your body is eighty-five per cent. water, fifteen per cent. ash and phosphorus, and they in turn can be dissipated

into gas and vapor.' 'No wonder' he asks, '*Where do we go from here !*'

And yet, this cheap, worthless Body tyrannizes over us all the days of our life !—It must be bathed, massaged, manicured, shampooed, perfumed, beautified, dressed, amused and taken out for an airing.

We may have an interesting book that our *Mind* would like to sit down comfortably to read ;—No, the *Body* must be taken out for a walk ; or it demands a game of golf or tennis. We would like to "*loafe and invite the Soul, to lean and loafe at ease observing a spear of summer grass,*"—we would like to linger in some woodland dell and hear the trees of the forest all singing together ; to list the music of the birds, the crooning of the streams : No, the *Body* is an-hungered and must be fed ! And then if it gets indigestion and a bad liver, it must be physiced and pampered...it must be obeyed, and yet in spite of our utmost care and allegiance, it will lose its attractiveness, grow old, wither, die and disintegrate ; then at last it is of some real use. Walt Whitman says :

" As to you, Corpse, I think you are good manure ;
But that does not offend me,
I smell the white roses, sweet-scented and growing,
I reach to the leafy-lips, I reach to the polished breasts of melons."

Omar Khayam has much more to say on this subject :

" I sometimes think that never blows so red
The rose, as where some buried Ceasar bled ;
That every hyacinth the Garden wears
Dropt in its lap from someone's lovely head."

"And this delightful herb whose tender green
Fledges the River's lip on which you lean—
Ah, lean upon it lightly ! for who knows
From what once lovely lip it springs unseen !"

All of which gives us to pause and think ! No wonder that

Socrates asked long centuries ago : "What is man, and what can he become ?"

Will he blossom in the flowers, sing in the birds, and wave in the branches of the woodland trees ?—those millions of little electrons that go to make up the human body, which are freed and dissipated when life goes out of man ? The Life !—What is the life ?

The eminent philosopher and writer, Dr. Lion Feuchtwanger, confesses to being a materialist, in that he is a heavy eater of meat, while in theory he is a vegetarian. He said that in the prime of life he had already eaten the flesh of 8.237 cattle, 1.712 head of game, and 1.436 poultry. Of sea-fish he had devoured 6.014, and from rivers and inland waters, 2.738 fish, without counting at all the innumerable small fry, such as oysters, mussels and snails. All of which he greatly enjoyed, and yet was often depressed by the reflection of how much life had to be destroyed to maintain his own. Such is the tyranny of the Body : it demands 'its pound of flesh' and cares not from whence it comes ! Imagine the pale ghosts of those slaughtered creatures meeting Dr. Feuchtwanger on the lower astral plane, and with rebuking eyes following him around !—could there be a greater Hell ?

So much for the mere body, which we may call the Desire Body. Let us now consider the inhabitants of the Body : Job affirms,

" There is a Spirit in man and the inspiration of the Almighty giveth him understanding."

Saint Paul, and other writers, speak of the trinity of our Being as Spirit, Soul and Body ; and the Body is called, "the Temple of the Holy Ghost," which at once gives it supreme honour. While in Esoteric Buddhism we learn that the Body is in reality a nest of seven other bodies, which need not now be enumerated. It calls to mind a book I read many years ago, of

a traveller of note, from some European city, visiting a man of importance in Persia. To him was given a dinner, and in front of the honoured guest was placed a whole, succulent, roast lamb : within the lamb was a turkey, within the turkey was a pea-cock, and in it another fowl, and then a smaller fowl, until at last there was a bird—probably a nightingale !—within the bird was a walnut, and inside the walnut was a ring of gold, upon which was engraved, “*This House and all it contains is Thine.*” Whether this was simply an Oriental compliment to a guest, or if it symbolized our mystical bodies, I do not know. However, the ring of gold was a beautiful symbol of God, without beginning and without end : it was symbolic of the Divine Essence that animates and inspires our Being, without which we were no more than the brute-beast !

After all, what is the Body ? Why does the etheric, or spiritual body, clothe itself in flesh that so soon decays and falls away ?

Why should a spark of the Omnipotent God descend to this little planet to dwell in such an unsatisfactory frame ? *What is the purpose of the Body ?*

Walt Whitman, in his extraordinary poem, “To the Body Electric” sings :

“If anything is sacred the human body is sacred,
And the glory and sweet of a man is the token of
manhood untainted,
And in man or woman a clean, strong, firm-fibred body
Is more beautiful than the most beautiful face.”

He did not consider the Soul any more than the Body ; and that nothing, not even God, was greater to one than one's self. And this is true ; if we consider the Body as the container of the Soul of man and the Spirit of God.

Let us pause to contemplate the Body of man made after the Divine pattern : “The Lord God formed man of the dust of the ground, and breathed into his nostrils the breath of life, and

man became a *living soul*." "So God created man in his own image; male and female created He them."

Man became a living soul! The body then is the chrysalis in which the soul germinates and grows its wings. When the physical body's proper function is performed, it is of no more account than is a broken shell from which the bird has flown or the torn cocoon from which the butterfly has escaped. The soul is the character of a man, and we are given the power to mould it as we will..... We?—and who are we? We are the offspring of Divine Mind, and to us is given three Guides to direct and control the Body, in which the Soul must evolve: the Conscious Mind, the sub-conscious and super-conscious Minds: the vast powers and wonders of which are only beginning to dawn upon the comprehension of man.

The conscious mind more or less controls the desire body, and, says Collier, "If you will depend less upon the ten per cent. of your abilities that resides in your conscious mind and live more to the ninety per cent. that constitutes your sub-conscious, you can overcome all obstacles. Remember this——there is no condition so hopeless, no life so far gone, that mind can not redeem it." For, "up in your sub-conscious mind is a Master Chemist with all the formulae of Universal Mind to draw upon, who can keep that chemical laboratory of yours making new parts just as fast as you can wear out the old."

The sub-conscious mind is in reality a Magician, who can carry out our demands as the Genii of the lamp did Aladdin's!

The sub-conscious mind retains the memory of all our past experiences and lives, of all we ever read or thought, and can reveal them to those who, by development, becomes its master.

The super-conscious mind is the fount of wisdom that finds its spring in the Heart of God, and when we learn to tap its source we will become one with the Creator of all life.

This is a scientific age, and biologists and scientists are making new and wonderful discoveries. It appears that man is

still evolving : much is now said of the influence of the adrenal glands upon the character, and body of the human being. It is possible, we read, that by stimulating or reducing the activity of these glands we may alter human character, control human passions and emotions, renew our youth, prolong life indefinitely, and keep all of our mental powers awake and aware.

Over two thousand years ago King David said, "I am fearfully and wonderfully made.....My substance was not hid from Thee when I was made in secret, and curiously wrought in the lowest parts of the earth. Thine eyes did see my substance yet being unperfect ; and in Thy Book all my members were written, which in continuance were fashioned, when as yet there was none of them."

So the body of man was created by a design and for a design : "we were clothed with skin and flesh, and fenced with bones and sinews," for the sole purpose of being the habitation of the Soul, in which it has to have experiences, to grow and develop and to work out its *Karma*.

You may read in any Physiology of the wonders of the human structure : of its two hundred bones, of its marvellous nervous system ; of the seven nerve centres, which are the telegraphic stations along the vertebrate—the thirty-three bones of the spine—connected with the Brain where the Master Operator is enthroned... ..of the powerful engine, the heart, that pumps its tons of blood throughout the veins ; of the little drainage canals, which if connected would measure forty miles in length ! Their work is to distribute the blood to every part of the bodythey also carry the little electric batteries, each with a negative and positive pole, of which the life-force is compounded.

"Man's body is made up of trillions of miniature solar-systems, each with its whirling planets and a central sun. These tiny systems are the atoms of modern science. The atoms of all elements are made up of protons and electrons, in varying quantities and arranged in various ways."

Atoms are now engaging the intense interest of scientists as never before, and their fearful wonders are not yet fully explored. Protons and electrons are infinitesimal particles of radiant energy of which the human body is builded and supplied with power.

There is nothing about the complex mechanism of the body that science has not discovered : hence the great strides that surgery has made during the past fifty years. It now seems that the human body may be taken apart and put together again, just as a piano-turner may take his instrument apart and reconstruct it ; but among all the ivories and multitudinous strings he cannot find the harmony—it is of the etheric world. Similarly, the surgeon may take apart the human body, but he can never find the Soul, or the Spirit of man—they belong to the Higher Realm.

“ Science may observe with the eyes, ears, nose, tongue, tactile-organs, and especially these days with man-made extensions of eyes, ears, etc., with microscope, telescope, spectroscope, microphone, marvellously delicate balances, and marvellously refined chemical analysis ; yet they will never discover the soul of a man, for soul like spirit is invisible, although its works are manifest. Science has even tried to weigh the soul, and it has been discovered that the weight of a man's body a few moments prior to death, differs from the same body from whence life has fled ; only an ounce or so, but Spirit is etheric and cannot be captured to weigh.” Wise, old Socrates recognised this centuries ago ; when Crito, his favourite pupil, weeping, asked him after he had drunk of the hemlock, where he would like to be buried, he replied, “ *Bury me wherever you like,—if you can catch me !* ” Well he knew that his immortal spirit could not be confined in any tomb, but would mount to the higher empyrean, and to freedom.

A very advanced thinker and writer believes that the race will eventually lose all its red blood, because red blood is representative of the material idea of life. He does not believe that

man was created to be as a carnivorous animal ; that we should be vegetarians and eat of the fruits of the earth ; that we should hold pure thoughts, live clean lives, and that in time men's veins will be filled with electricity. Then indeed, we could generate our own current to rise into the air at will, as it is claimed that the great Thera Mahinda did when he bore to the beautiful island of Ceylon, the Buddhist religion. This writer believes that when Jesus, the Christ, said, "*The last enemy to be destroyed is death,—*" He meant literally just what He said, and that we do not have to wait for some far-off resurrection day for the change, to be clothed upon with spirit and to live eternally.

In "The Wisdom of the Ages," Collier says, "No matter how many years have passed since you were born, you are only eleven months old to-day ! The one thing you can be surest about is *Change*. Every one of the millions of cells of which you are composed are constantly being renewed. Even your bones are daily renewing themselves in this way. These cells are building—building—building ! Every day they tear down old tissue and rebuild it with new. There is not a cell in your body, not a tissue or muscle, not a bone, that is more than eleven months old.' Why then should we ever grow old ? Every particle of our bodies is subject to the sub-conscious mind, and are rebuilt exactly as the mind directs. So, it is up to us to furnish the design ; Thought is Architect of all creation :

"It matters not from whence we sprung, from protoplasm,
or from nought ;
We are creations of a God who gave us life just by a thought."

Alchemists have for many ages sought to discover the elixir of eternal youth... 'Four hundred years ago Ponce de Leon set sail into the mysteries of an unknown world in search of the fountain of youth, when all the time the secret of the fountain was right within himself !' The architect and builder are both

at our command: the only price demanded is in coinage of faith, knowledge, earnestness, and eternal vigilance!

The 'Divine Plato' compares the body to a chariot, the organs are the horses, the mind the reins, the intellect is the driver, and the Soul is the rider in the chariot. Therefore the intellect must control the reins, which we may call the conscious and sub-conscious minds, and they must guide the horses along the highway of life, bearing the master, the Soul, to its ultimate destination. The reins must be held firmly, the horses must be kept in check and guided aright, and the charioteer must be master of all...that is, if we consider the intellect as our Divine Mind, which is the driver and controller of our Being.

In "The story of Philosophy," by Will Durant, we read :

"Desire has its seat in the loins ; it is a bursting reservoir of energy, fundamentally sexual. Emotion has its seat in the heart, in the flow and force of the blood ; it is the organic resonance of experience and desire. Knowledge has its seat in the head ; it is the eye of desire and can become the Pilot of the Soul."

I suppose that the writer here refers to the mysterious pineal gland at the top of the brain which is undoubtedly a vestige of a pineal eye. It is a dark-grey conical structure, situated behind the third ventricle of the brain, and its function is unknown to Science. In the seventeenth century Descartes identified it as the seat of the soul. However, it is more plausible to believe it the All-seeing eye of the Spirit, which can be developed by the methods taught in Rāja Yoga, by the great Swami Vivekananda.

The Christ ever spoke, as all mystic teachers do in veiled language—therefore He continually said, He who has eyes to see, let him see—or he who has ears to hear, let him hear : meaning, let him who has the eye or the ear of the spirit awakened, read into His words and so comprehend them ; for the undeveloped, the outer meaning of the parables was sufficient. He also said, "*The light of the body is the eye : if*

therefore thine eye be single, thy whole body shall be full of light,"—herein is a great mystery.

In Vedanta Philosophy we learn of the limitless power of the Cosmic Mind. It tells of the seven lotuses, or nerve centres, along the spinal column—of *Idâ*, the moon nerve, on the left, and *Piṅgalâ*, the sun nerve on the right of the spinal cord, and of the *Susumnâ*, the hollow canal which runs through the centre of the spine, which is really the conductor of the creative life-force throughout the body, and is connected with the thousand-petaled-lotus of the brain, in which you may find the jewel, or the God consciousness: *the Eye that is Single!* We also learn from Hindoo Philosophy that the sacral-plexus, the triangle at the base of the spine, is the nest of the *Kuṇḍalinî* (the coiled up), or serpent in the spine. God made the serpent the wisest of all His creatures; therefore did Christ admonish His disciples when He sent them out into the world, to be as wise as serpents, and as harmless as doves. However, the serpent was cursed for having tempted Eve to disobey the commands of God, and hence it became a crawler of the dust. The allegory of the Garden of Eden can be explained thus wise: The tree of life was, in reality, the spinal column, and the ribs were the branches thereof...the serpent that twined around the tree was the awakened *Kuṇḍalinî*, the sex force, which is of all things the most abused and misunderstood; yet was made to be the most sacred, when used aright. By it was man tempted, and by its abuse he fell from the likeness of God, and the twain were expelled from Eden.

The awakened *Kuṇḍalinî* rises through the *Susumnâ*, or cavern in the spine, and breaks through the lotuses one after the other, until it reaches the topmost bough of the tree, the brain, or the thousand-petaled lotus. When used intelligently the awakened *Kuṇḍalinî* gives to us imagination, perception, creative-force, and leads direct to the Cosmic Mind. Or if aroused and abused it can tempt man to his fall, and cause him to be cast out of Paradise.

It has been said that Richard Wagner was a mystic ; then perhaps this knowledge caused him to name the temptress of Parsifal, *Kundry*...I wonder ?

The lotus of the solar-plexus is believed by occultists to be the seat of the Soul, as the upper-brain, where all of the finer qualities reside, is the place where the Eye of the Spirit is situated—it is the spot upon which the Yogis concentrate when taking rhythmic breathing to awaken their higher powers. .

The Soul needs and must have a physical body in which to have its experiences ; by experience it is moulded and developed, and through many rounds of experiences it gains enlightenment and freedom.

There is a very pretty Hindoo story that illustrates this ; I haven't it to refer to, but this is the gist of it : There was a beautiful tree filled with fruit, and on the tree were two birds—one sat on the topmost bough, serenely preening its feathers, the while viewing the limitless blue of the sky, and basking in the sun-light. The other bird was on the lower branches busily engaged in pecking at the lovely fruit so abundantly spread before it ; happily going from one branch to another, and indiscriminately pecking at the good and bad, the ripe and unripe fruit, going ever higher and higher. It would occasionally pause to glance up at the serene bird on the topmost bough, and to wonder why it too, did not come down to enjoy the fruit ; but not for long would it stop, but went on its rounds of discovering fresher and sweeter fruits. At last it too rose above the fruit-bearing branches and reached the topmost bough : when, lo, it found the bird that so peacefully preened its wings for flight was itself !

So we too must have experiences throughout many lives : by experience we gain knowledge, and by knowledge is attained wisdom, and by wisdom comes freedom.

We must not be in bondage to the Desire-Body ; it shackles us to enjoy the most alluring fruits, while the serene Âtman sits aloft watching and waiting to gain its freedom.

We must not harken to the constant demands of the conscious mind, nor waste our precious hours in listening to the Siren songs of pleasure...we cannot dally along the way to pluck the primroses ; if we do, the Desire-Body will become a tyrant indeed. . .

Life is too great, too vast, too sublime to be wasted in the monotonous clamourings that wear out the Body, as the constant dropping of water will wear away the hardest rock.

The possibilities of the sub-conscious mind are too limitless to stop to fret over the bad or unripe fruits we may have eaten on our upward progress. We should keep our eyes fixed on the serene Watcher ; and also view the limitless blue of the sky, or study the star-gemmed firmament that points the way to ultimate bliss.

“ This day before dawn I ascended a hill and
looked at the crowded heaven,
And I said to my Spirit, when we become the
enfolders of those orbs, and the pleasures and
knowledge of everything in them, shall we be fill'd
and satisfied then ?
And my Spirit said, No, we but level that lift to
pass and continue beyond.”

TERESA STRICKLAND

PURCHASE OF STERLING

The new system of remittance operations perfected by the Government of India during the course of the last half-a-dozen years is not thoroughly understood by the public. It is not only essential that its advantages and disadvantages should be understood but the far-reaching consequences underlying this method must be realised by all students of Indian financial problems.

The object of Remittance.

The Government of India is a subordinate body subject to the sovereignty of the British Parliament. While it realises its revenue in silver in India it has to meet certain obligations to the extent of roughly £35 mil. annually in London. This necessarily forces the Government of India to enter the exchange market for converting its rupee resources into sterling resources at as an advantageous a rate as is possible for it to secure.

Several methods.

Although theoretically speaking this can be done by several methods the most suitable and advantageous ones have to be resorted to in preference to others. Firstly the sale of bills in the London Money Market on the Indian Treasury against the receipt of sterling in London can be done to suit his requirements. This was the old, time-honoured but recently discarded system of the sale of Council Bills in London.¹ Secondly, there

¹ For a history of the Council Bill sales—see Mr. H. Waterfield's Memorandum—Appendix to the Fowler Committee's Report—p 24; also Mr. Newmarch's Memorandum on the same subject, Appendices, Vol. I, No. 8, p 20. See also Mr. C. S. Kisch's Memorandum on Remittances which consists of the 1915 and 1924 rules with reference to this sale of Council Bills to the Hilton-Young Commission, Vol. III, pp. 485-489,

is the purchase of sterling bills from banks and private financial houses willing to sell their sterling resources in London for rupees offered to them in India. This is the present method which has displaced the above one. Thirdly, there is the buying of gold bullion and exporting it from this country to London. The exporting of silver cannot be resorted to as it would be sending silver from the better market to a less advantageous one. The Government would be the loser by this method. Even in the case of gold shipment the loss of interest, freight and insurance charges would amount to much. Fourthly, the Government can buy sterling bills drawn on London from reliable mercantile houses and send them to the Secretary of State for collecting. This method was actually employed for a while in 1877 but was afterwards given up. Fifthly, advances can be made to merchants in India for purchase of goods consigned to the United Kingdom and repayable in England to the Secretary of State to whom the goods are hypothecated. The bills of lading of cargoes can be taken as security and thus remittance can be affected by this method. But inasmuch as their credit would not be of a high standing this method cannot be safely resorted to. It was actually employed to a limited extent by the East India Company and given up as "introducing a vicious system of credit and interfering with the ordinary course of trade." Lastly, the Secretary of State can purchase the proceeds of loans floated by the quasi-public bodies in London and release its equivalent in rupees in India. This method however is not always available but it is free from all defects.

Of these different methods each with its own limitations, method two is the present accepted method of making remittances to London. The Government enter the money market and invite tenders on Wednesday at Bombay, Calcutta, Karachi, Madras, and Rangoon. Purchases in the market can be made for purpose of Intermediates on days when tenders are not received.

When was it taken up?

In the year 1923 the sale of Intermediate Councils was given up and sterling was purchased through the Imperial Bank from the Exchange Bankers and other recognised financial firms as a supplementary measure to the weekly sale of Council Drafts. The Imperial Bank was given the minimum buying limit by the Controller of Currency both of rate and of quantity, and it was also altered now and then during the course of the same day. Although large purchases were made under this method the question of inviting tenders to secure the best rates was not taken up at any time. Neither the extent of purchases nor the rate at which the purchases were made were published by the Government of India and these were freely left to the discretion of the Government of India.

The old system of the sale of Council Bills was not given up even in the official year 1924-25. Weekly sale of Council Bills was resumed only when there was a steady demand for rupees. But during the official year 1924-25, the sale of Councils did not amount to much. Even during this period much publicity was not thrown on these operations and it was only at the end of the month that the public could know the amount of purchases made by the Government in the money market. The Bombay Chamber of Commerce protested against this "lack of knowledge regarding purchase of sterling and suggested that the weekly return of purchases should be published."

During the course of the official year 1925-26, no sale of Councils took place and it has been completely superseded by the method of purchase of sterling. The table, at the next page, with reference to remittances, makes this point clear.¹

¹ From April, 1927, the Government of India has been making weekly purchases of its sterling requirements by tender. Provision for Intermediate remittances is also made and the rate fixed by the Controller of Currency, for the Intermediate T. T.'s is known as the "tap rate." If the rate is not liked by the sellers of T. T. the tap rate would be practically inoperative and whether any purchases according to the tap rate can be made, can be foreseen by the number of applications made on tender days. The larger volume on the tender day indicates the possibilities of Intermediate purchases.

Official year.			Sale of Councils in London.	Purchase of Ster- ling in India.	Purchases by the Secretary of State of loan proceeds of public bodies raised in London.
			£	£	£
1922-23			2,570,026	70,000	2,126,210
1923-24			8,788,705	13,100,000	1,302,950
1924-25			7,572,162	33,191,000	70,0000
1925-26 (9 months) ...			Nil	87,566,500	Nil

The respective advantages of competitive tender and private purchase of sterling through the Imperial Bank were discussed by the Hilton-Young Commission, but the advantages or disadvantages of this procedure as against the old one of sale of Councils were not paid heed to. The Commission recommended the purchase of sterling by competitive public tender and the publication of weekly return of remittances. This is now followed in actual practice¹ and would doubtless be changed as soon as a Central Bank of issue is created for this country. The remittance business of the Government would be done through the Central Bank in much the same way as it would do the other banking business of the Government.

Reasons for this change.

Though Mr. Charles Nicoll² and the Right Hon. Montagu Norman,³ the Governor of the Bank of England, opine that "a sentimental influence brought about tendering in India instead of London" there were weighty reasons for pursuing this change. It was to take advantage of a "firm or rising exchange" that this new method of sending remittances from this country was devised. It was also meant to check rapid

¹ See C. H. Kisch's Memorandum on Remittances, Vol. III, p. 435, Hilton-Young Commission's Evidence.

² See his oral evidence before the Hilton-Young Commission, Vol. V, p. 201.

³ See his evidence before the Hilton-Young Commission, Vol. V, p. 192.

appreciation of the rupee or "undesirable up-rush of exchange" that sterling exchange was brought on an abundant scale. In October, 1924, it was decided to prevent exchange from rising above 1s. 6d. by the free offering of rupees according to this method. This method was devised by Sir Basil Blackett and the Government of India have adopted it as an advisable one in the interests of India and as an improvement on the existing method of the sale of Council Bills.

The main advantages of the scheme.

In days of fluctuating exchange it enables the Government of India to control the exchange market and with the full benefit of knowledge of local circumstances influencing the course of exchange the Finance Minister can do something to impart tolerable stability to the fluctuating exchange and thus confer a boon on trade and the country.

Exchange can roughly be pegged at the selected rate at which rupees can be released and thus the object of stabilising exchange at a particular rate can be easily obtained by purchasing sterling for unlimited amounts at the upper gold point of the selected rate for the rupee. In the days of firm or rising exchange it can be employed to arrest the further rise altogether. Just as the unlimited sale of Councils at 1s. 4½d. prevented the free flow of gold into the country the release of rupees at 1s. 32d lower rate than the upper gold point of the rupee would prevent the free flow of gold into the country. If the Government are prepared to buy sterling over and above the requirements of the Secretary of State the exchange can be artificially pegged at this upper gold point of the rupee rate. This they can do safely so long as they can increase the British securities in the Paper Currency Reserve and issue P. C. notes against the cover placed in London or they can issue rupees against "created" securities of the Government of India which cannot exceed 50 crores of rupees. The P. C. Amendment Act (February, 1925) has conferred this privilege and so long as there is this safety-valve

there need be no apprehension that by this new method they would fail to peg exchange at the upper gold point or the rupee rate. The coinage of rupees is still left to the Government and so long as this capacity exists they can purchase sterling with the rupees. *Ad Hoc* securities were recently created by the Government of India and Paper Currency inflated against them so that further rise in exchange even by 1-32d would not be brought about. Leaving aside the undesirability of such expansion by questionable methods this prevents the free flow of gold but the stability of exchange at the desired point which is the sole objective and absolute obligation of the Government would be attained.

In days of weakening exchange this method would not be of any utility and the old policy of selling Reverse Councils at the lower gold point of the rupee has to be resorted to. So long as the Gold Standard Reserve is sufficient and kept in a highly liquid state for this purpose the selected rate can be made operative. Gold or gold exchange can be released without limit at the lower gold point of the rupee.

Under the old method of sale of Council Bills heavy cash balances could be kept by the policy of unlimited sale of Council Drafts over and above the Home Charges. Under this new method remittances can be made by the Government to meet the actual requirements and thus render unnecessary the piling up of huge cash balances. The sterling Treasury Bills can be floated by the Secretary of State in London if this remittance programme fails to provide him with adequate resources. It is no doubt expensive and this penalty should be incurred only as the last-go. There is this total emancipation from the Secretary of State's control in the matter of remittance programme and some degree of monetary independence has been conferred on the Government of India. By unlimited sales of Council Drafts over and above the requirements of the Home Charges on the specious plea of satisfying trade requirements he used to transfer cash balances from this country or a portion of the Paper

Currency Reserve. By a judicious use of the new method this unjust transfer need no longer be tolerated and the interference of the Secretary of State in the matter of remittance is rendered as remote as possible.

Finally this method is considered suitable and simple and the Exchange Banks need not depend on rediscounting their bills in London but promptly sell their sterling bills to the Government of India and thus replenish their rupee resources in this country.

Disadvantages.

This method is not however free from defects altogether. Firstly, the upper gold point may not be reached at all under this method if rupees are released at 1-32d lower rate than the upper gold point of the rupee. This means the free flow of gold can be diverted and impeded thus checking or restricting the automatic action of gold entering the currency system and rupees or notes issued against that stock of gold. The price can be so arranged as to check the flow of gold. It is not here assumed that the gold would enter the Indian Currency media or become a part of the currency of India.

Secondly, it is possible that the Government might not follow the lead of the market but actually set the pace themselves. It is too closely interwoven with the Currency policy and absolutely dependent on the Indian money market.

Thirdly, unless the purchase of sterling is definitely limited to actual or prospective requirements the free flow of gold into the country would be stopped. The magnitude of the purchase can be arranged as to prevent the flow of gold into India. Enormous purchases can be made to cover (1) the amount necessary for the Secretary of State's expenses, (2) the further amounts as can be spared in a prosperous season towards the reduction or avoidance of debt in England, (3) the requirements of trade. But

if large funds are remitted to the Home Treasury it would be locking up Indian funds in London. With the right or improper use of these funds we are not concerned here.

Fourthly, the public tender system at different places means delay involving the collecting of different demands at one centre and though the time element can be overcome during the days of electric telegraph foreign centres dealing with India would be at a disadvantage under the tender system in India. Large number of American people enter into jute contracts and these people would find it difficult to get along with this tender system. London being the world's financial centre application by foreign countries for Councils could be easily made in London. Under the present system they generally send their requirements at least one day earlier to their agents in India. There is a big rupee market in London. It is being ignored by means of this new method and hence the best price for the rupee may not be obtained if this market in London is ignored.

The financial transactions of the Government are being subjected to controversy and criticism on account of this method of remittance. The purchase of sterling to the extent of $1\frac{1}{2}$ md. on account of the P. C. Department on 14th January, 1928, has been criticised freely. The non-remittance uses made out of this method are likely to be contested strongly by the Indian public.

Finally, under this system rupees are released in India by the Government immediately before sterling is placed in the hands of the Secretary of State in London. Unless the credit standing of the parties is of a very high order such a thing cannot be done. The keeping of a Government list means drawing an unfair and invidious distinction which would be resented by the people not favoured according to this discrimination. Although in actual practice no loss is sustained by such a procedure yet it is not so safe as the sale of Councils which amounted to the obtaining of sterling in London before the parting of equivalent amount of rupees in India.

Conclusion.

Although on the whole this system has given tolerable satisfaction to trade no time should be lost in starting a Central Bank and handing over this remittance programme to the Central Bank which would pay due heed to the needs of the market while remitting funds to the Secretary of State on behalf of the Government of India. The Central Bank should accept unlimited amount of gold in India at par and issue bank currency at the upper gold point against it and release unlimited quantity of gold at the lower gold point of the internal currency unit offered to it in India. Its acknowledged object should be to check fluctuations in exchange automatically by the free inflow and outflow of gold. Governmental interference in the management of remittance should not be tolerated in any manner. It is bound at certain times to be as iniquitous as interference in the management of currency.

B. RAMCHANDRA RAU

LOVE, LIFE AND JOY

I

The root, ungainly sore of eyes,
The acrid sore of nose,
Is cast away on hill of dews ;
No dream can show its Rose—
In Rose the joys of life abound,
The root is hid in fulsome ground.
Alone, Love, knowest what's hid in heart,
What men reject their home Thou art.
Love kills alike all sin and merit
And death in life is life in spirit.
Love seems to sleep in mud downtrod
And Love is life in grain-womb'd pod,
See, death is Love and life is Love
On earth below and heaven above.
Without self's love can any move?
Now, look within and this truth prove.
If Love were not then none could be—
This truth's true all eternity.
Love's life and joy, beyond compare,
That Love is joy ye all can swear.
There is no good in death or life
And Love alone is end of strife.
Love is love and life and joy
All but Love must ever cloy.

II

When thy desire o'erleaps the fence
 Betwixt desire and end,
How happy thou, O playful mind,
 Is obstacle thy friend?
When fence is full of thorns and spikes
 And desires eat thy heart,
Thou hatest life, thou hatest all,
 All anguish then thou art.
But, see, when all desires are one
 With love that rules all life ;
O, what against desire can stand
 When Love stills all thy strife?
Then thou art Love and thou art joy
 In end of greed and fear
O, thou art thou all truth, all peace
 Thro' tune and far and near.

MOHINIMOHAN CHATTERJI

THE STUDY OF HISTORY AND RESEARCH ¹

The whole academic world is deeply stirred to-day by the new cry which is heard everywhere, *viz.*, the cry for research. It is hoped, and not without reason, that the spirit of research will act like a leaven in the life of a scholar, helping it against stagnation and thereby infusing into it freshness and colour. Everybody appreciates this new movement and is anxious to join hands towards its success.

But however warmly we advocate this growing demand for research we should not altogether forget the dangers to which it opens up unless sufficient caution and moderation be exercised towards regulating its activities. If without making up our mind as to what is meant by research, and how this new temper of research is to be guided, we throw ourselves into the current, research is bound to degenerate into a mad craze for novelty and nothing more. It is not unlikely that ere long it shall invite curses upon itself as a pest of modern intellectual life.

To examine the whole problem of research in all its many-sided activities is not easy. For the present we like to simplify our issue by confining ourselves mainly to one aspect of it *i.e.*, to its bearing upon historical studies. Nor is such a choice altogether arbitrary. The connection of research with History is felt to be an inward one. Whatever else the temper of research might signify, there can be no doubt that in its 'first intension' it stands for these twofold tendencies, *i.e.*, (i) towards creating a sense of dissatisfaction with truths as hitherto known and accepted and (ii) emphasising the urgency of cultivating the historic sense in the new search for truth. In one way real research and true historic sense are inseparably

¹ Read before the 'Varendra Research Society.'

bound up together. In the sequel we shall try to illustrate this point, and it is better that we open our discussion with "the study of History," for history seems to provide ample ground for research as well as for the cultivation of historic sense.

It conduces to clearness of understanding if we seek to bring out the main lines of our investigation. Three different problems seem to engage our attention. We may discuss how (i) History appears simply by itself or (ii) how far it serves as a guide in the pursuit of truth or (iii) in what manner it is affected by the demands of life and personality. These three problems cannot be rigidly held apart. In answering what is History one invariably finds himself discussing the question of method. Again no answer to the problem of method can be suggested till one has found out an answer to the first issue. Nor can we ignore the bearing of the third upon the first and the second. It is always puzzling to the enquirer to settle calmly whether history should be determined in response to the demands of life and personality or whether life and personality should hang upon history in formulating their demands.

To judge history simply by itself may lead us to think of it as a bare record of human events arranged chronologically, while to approach it from the view point of life and personality means to treat it as a delineation of scenes culled from the life movement of an age, suffused with so much emotional colouring as would render the presentation inspiring. The historian from this point of view usurps to a certain extent, the function of the poet and artist. He does not care to dive into an ever-receding, irrevocable past for the sake of the past, but to revalue the past in the light of the present. Instead of appearing in the fashion of a colourless spectator, he obliges us by assuming the rôle of a representative of the people. He endeavours to bring himself round to the point of view of those whose history he is studying. He is to share their thoughts and reciprocate their sentiment. Fully alive to the ideals which inspire a

people to-day he moves backward selecting scenes from the buried lives of the past and presents them in setting so richly decorated with imagery that its appeal lies direct to the heart. To set the past in ever changing colour and to add to it higher and higher value along with the progressive evolution of ideals is the task to which the historian dedicates himself. This is how history appears from the view point of life and personality. The function of the historian becomes more of the nature of *recreating* the movements of a life-process than that of gathering together a set of 'dead' facts or of setting up a Museum to house together a collection of lifeless mummies.

But all this undergoes a complete transformation if we pass over to the stand-point of history as a method. History as a method, has neither to chronicle facts nor to elucidate an ideal, but mainly to assert a claim. The bare chronicler is hardly entitled to the rank of an historian and the mere idealist is a danger to the true historic temper. The best in history, *viz.*, that which makes history worthy of her name and secures for her a position of pre-eminence among the different studies lies in her being regarded as a method. What we mean by this is that the true historian is so-called because of his readiness to pursue truth in the true historic temper, refusing alike to indulge in the dreams of the idealist or to surrender to the passionless rôle of a recorder. It implies that he engages in collating facts in the light of their genesis and development. Any investigation begun in the spirit of looking for the origin of things and the various stages of their development marks the historical method and the study to that extent constitutes history. There may be a history of poetry, just as much as there may be a history of a nation. History is not a study having a well defined subject matter of its own, but anything whatsoever may be a fit theme either for poetry, philosophy, science or history. But of these different forms of studies history alone possesses, by virtue of the superiority of her method, the best claim to lead us to the heart of truth. How

effectively fruitful has been the study of history, viewed in this light, is indicated by the results she has yielded. The concept of evolution, one of the most noteworthy contributions of history is being recognised as the one master key to the solution of problems that were so long considered intractable. This is why many are disposed to hold that history should be viewed mainly as a method; for herein lie the real pride and supreme value of History,

The orthodox historian however begins to fume and fulminate upon the unprofessional amateurs for their over zealous interference with history. To characterise history as a method or an expression of personality constitutes an offence against the true dignity of history. History stands by herself. She need not justify her title by doing service to the demands of personality or to the theory of knowledge. On the contrary, Logic and personality both shall have to offer an unconditional surrender at the altar of history. From out of the stately structure erected by the historian, the grandeur of which lies in the hard discipline of its unornate simplicity, the artist may cut out a section and decorate it with design pleasing to the sense and enlivening to the spirit or the logician may formulate a code with which to encompass it. But these are minor affairs. Neither the logician nor the artist can enter into the spirit of history. To realise how stupendously vast history is, it is well to remember that she owes no duty, recognises no ideal and obeys no method. History is conterminous with reality in so far as that reality has acted itself out.

It is this brute primitive reality, bereft of purpose, growth, or development lying eternal as time itself, that constitutes history. The best historian is one who in naked selflessness lets the whole succession of events unroll themselves before his gaze.

This is no doubt highly exacting and few historians have succeeded in fulfilling this requirement. To contemplate events in a linear series without pause or rhythm makes us dizzy. This is why in every clime history allowed the practice of group

formations—each group having been formed with a person at its centre. Personality cannot be explained away, we think, by reference to historical and geographical factors, but above them all he stands as a free, creative agent. Him we love, and to him we are impelled by the promptings of our heart to pay our homage. We cherish the memory of those deeds which glorify him and mercifully forgetting his weaknesses—if he had any—go on making a hero of him.

Hero worship is a form of idolatry that is engrained in human blood. So people everywhere began setting up their own idols. "Our Napoleon is incomparably great" said the one. On the other shore we heard the cry "our Duke is simply sublime." This is how history made his appearance. And this was the beginning of that *hiatus* that helped to divide man from man. History really sprang forth out of the impulse of self-glorification, and it was just in so far as history served to satisfy this native craving for self-preservation and self-expansion that she was taken care of. This is true as much of the individual as of the race. In the case of the individual, we find that the main factor that helps towards the formation of a system of memories is the feeling of love with which he views his own existence. His existence is to him a thing of absolute worth, so that whatever tends to heighten the feeling of self existence thereby becomes an integral part of his being. He keeps it by himself, hugs it, and piling up on this corner stone, a whole host of similar experiences rests the structure of his self. His self is to him such a structure of memories which he has reared up. This makes for his identity and distinctness and prevents the merging of his self within some other self.

The history of the race illustrates the natural outcome of a similar process at work. In one case we deal with individual self while in the other we hold up before our eyes the image of a racial self. We idolise heroes who in our opinion, gather up experiences connected with the existence of the race as a distinct, identical unit. It is interesting to note how this sentiment

or self-glorification rears up heroes of varying grades of excellence. In some cases the heroes rose no higher than ordinary secular beings. But there were people beyond this level whose sentiment of veneration ran so high that they could never remain satisfied till their heroes assumed a character of divinity before their eyes. History, even against herself, began idealising their heroes to such an extent as rendered them half mythical and half historical. It is this curious mixture of fact and fiction, myth and truth that has given the 'rudest shock to the modern historian.

With the temper of puritanism, characteristic of him, the modern historian is anxious to root out this idol-making propensity of the people. The study of history conducted in right lines is the only remedy against this vain effusion of self-glorification. As modern physics is tending towards the disintegration of matter into a momentary equilibrium of moving forces, so modern history, in alliance with modern Psychology, aims at decomposing personality into an assemblage of circumstances. A Napoleon is only an assemblage of events, just as the year '1453' is made up of a series of occurrences. To understand Napoleon historically means to take into account a number of factors—ethnic, climatic, psychic, etc.—factors that in their time-correlation conspire to go by the name of Napoleon. It is hoped that a new era of peace and happiness will dawn upon earth when man is made to face facts in their innocence and purity, when he realises that even the greatest among men has no innate greatness in him, but is a mere pretender whose genesis can be traced to the lowest mob of ordinary circumstances and that therefore all the enthusiasm of his love and veneration at the thought of such heroic figures is misplaced. Relieved of this incubus of love and adoration, man shall feel a sense of equality not only in the eye of God, but in his own eye as well. The future of the world lies in the new democracy towards which modern history, in alliance with modern Psychology, is leading us. To sum up: The spirit of modern

history seems to be democratic, puritanic and iconoclastic. This accords with the fact that people, born in democratic and iconoclastic traditions have shown greater aptitude as chroniclers of events and stood nearer to the modern historian than anybody else. As against this there was the race of aristocrats who, impregnated with the ideals of class superiority, vigour and beauty—ideals which can never be universalised, could seldom break away from their instinctive regard for personality. Events are to them mere ephemeral shows. It matters little whether one remembers or forgets them. But far above them there remains the forceful figure of personality. To study him, to appreciate his life-work is their great objective. This cannot be done by a mere soldering of outward events, but requires a touch of inner sympathy and insight which can be shared only by a select few. This is the reason why among people who by their culture and tradition were taught to believe in the intrinsic sanctity of man and his exclusive greatness, history as a pure record of events has not prospered well.

How these two temperaments, the democratic and the aristocratic, stand in their attitude to history is best shown in the emphasis which each of them lays upon research. As the true democrat has no faith in genius and is clamouring for equalising of all,—high and low—research means to him the mere unearthing of details and arranging them in full compact series with reference to time, so that this may materially help a man to expose the myth of hero worship and stultify the romance of history. People marvel at the greatness of Socrates when they are told that he readily gave up his life at the call of duty. They extol the genius of Beethoven and are stunned with reverential awe when they hear of a Prince, so deeply touched by world's sorrows and sufferings, that he could never return to the ease and comfort of a Prince's life, but flung himself down to the solution of world's miseries—a solution destined to open the way of deliverance to the millions of humanity.

But why should people marvel so much?—asks the Democrat. Have we got, within our knowledge, all the fulness of facts, the intricacies of forces that culminated necessarily in these so-called epoch-making movement? Obviously not. Let us therefore push on the enquiry. What about Socrates? When was he born? How many friends had he? What food did he take? Were his muscles rendered stiff through inaction? These and similar other facts we must bring to light through researches so that we may realise that Socrates' refusal to escape from the prison-house was the inevitable out-come of these factors. The same line of enquiry should be undertaken with regard to Beethoven and Buddha. Let us ask if Beethoven was deaf, if he shaved himself clumsily. Was Buddha himself ever rebuked at school or coldly treated by the courtiers of his father? Our knowledge about these historic details is utterly inadequate and defective. In this twilight region of ignorance and knowledge the myth making propensity of the people sprang forth in wild exuberance. The cause of history was sacrificed and the emotional susceptibilities with which man ensnared himself, always made for his degeneration and enfeeblement. The spirit of research is not yet born with us. If luckily it should ever come we shall see that it is an interminable pursuit. Exploration, excavation, ransacking of manuscripts and deciphering of plates, in fact, whatever lends aid to peer through the misty labyrinth of time shall have to be seized upon.

The temper of the Aristocrat though laughing outwardly at the ferment caused by the new cry for research has had nevertheless some misgivings as to what is coming out of this research. What does it avail to the devotee to be told that the Hall at Capernaum within which Christ delivered his teachings was not paved with stones? If, for the sake of realistic effect, we are to advocate such discoveries it is well to remember that their sole value lies in reinstating the glory for which humanity stands and not in hackling it to pieces. Unless the research

worker were in a position to know what to look for, very often he would look for things at the wrong end; wherefore it is of supreme importance that the research agents be trained first to reciprocate the sentiments and ideals which inspire a people. To go about looking for facts that best harmonise with the cherished ideals of a people is the basic principle of research. Of course the ideals of a people do not remain stationary, and one of the conditions of change is the ever growing volume of facts unearthed by research. Still research at its start should be responsive to the demands of the people. Goethe expressed himself in a similar strain when he declared: 'History must from time to time be rewritten, not because many new facts have been discovered but because new aspects come into view, because the participant in the progress of an age is led to standpoints from which the past can be regarded and judged in a novel manner.' If we are to hold to this view of research it obliges us first to enter into the spirit of the age in which we are living and then draw out a system of facts in consonance with the demand of the time. Let the Westerner get into the spirit of the east if he is anxious to know the history of the east. In the same way it may be urged that a follower of Islam has no chance of understanding the great movements of the Hindus so long as he is not imbued with the ideal of the Hindu life, nor can a Hindu have any prospect of appreciating the truth of Islam if he is not at heart sympathetic towards Islamic aspirations. This is what the high class aristocratic temper means by research and study of history. It is not by sacrifice of one's ideal but by always adhering to them, and yet making the way plain for mutual sympathy and appreciation that a basis may be found for real understanding that shall alone succeed in ridding the world of her present day strifes and feuds.

This is how the two parties, the democrats and the aristocrats, stand in the game of research. Each of them has his own programme and way of evaluating research. To the democrat, man is nothing but a bundle of events in time—a complex

unit resolvable into a series of occurrences held together by the operation of time. To honour the dead means therefore to dig out of the grave all the fulness of facts which covered his life whilst he was alive. It is interesting to note how this attitude has reacted upon the conception of the future life of man. The life beyond the grave is nothing but a mere prolongation in time of almost the same set of occurrences which filled it up when it was on this side of the grave. Life is one interminable process—a never ending chain of events. Historical societies confirm this by their researches with regard to lives spent on earth. Psychical societies seek to justify this by carrying on researches with regard to lives on the other side of the grave.

This appears perplexing to the aristocrat. To live means, to him, to strive after an ideal—an ideal which is not chained down in the stream of succeeding events. The strength of the ideal, *viz.*, that which makes it an everlasting factor lies not in its being scattered through the musty volume of events but in living beyond the whole world of events. Every nation has its own ideal just as much as every individual has his. This ideal expresses the life of the nation as much as of the individual so that we may say that their life is not a mere summation of events foreign to one another but one indivisible unit falling beyond the roll of time. To survey and appreciate life, in this wise, of the nation as of the individual, is not to string together a collection of events but to go beyond them. "When we have loved our heroes into immortality these footnotes of times become irrelevant."

In a sense, the democrat represents the de-nationalistic and de-humanistic temper while the aristocrat stands for nationalism and humanism. So the problem becomes hotter and hotter as to which way we should decide. The democratic impulse is apt to degenerate into irreverence while the aristocratic mould stagnates into false vanity and morbid sentimentalism.

It seems neither party has grasped the inner meaning of historical studies. The true historic sense forbids the attempt

to reduce everything to a purely unmeaning succession of events just as much as it stands opposed to the absolute validity of the nationalistic or class ideals. To say that the ideals are illusory the concept of personality is a myth goes against the verdict of historic sense, while to treat the ideal as a sort of eternal verity with which all historical movements must necessarily square falsifies the reading of history. It is too readily assumed by those brought up in an aristocratic mould as if these ideals antedate history and so have a suprahistoric validity. It is this that vitiates their study of history. Equally defective is the democratic way of reading history, for the democrat means by history the bare presentation of facts in a dull, drab, discoloured way without any purpose, end or ideal. The truth is, history has neither followed steadfast the lines of nationality nor has she proved utterly irresponsible to the aspirations of the people. To realise how far history has satisfied these demands of personalities and how far she has neglected them the true historian must equip himself with the historic sense. Nobody who is not gifted with this historic sense should be called upon to undertake research.

Historic sense is both a product as well as a presupposition of the study of history. What we mean by this is that the study of history should be undertaken mainly with the idea that it stands for a method and not for any definite subject matter. Those who approach the study with the belief that it has a definite subject matter, *e.g.*, registering facts of a certain order, either with, or without purpose, must fall within the grip of the aristocrats or the democrats.

History as a method implies a line of investigation which starts with the reality of the present day situation. Whatever contributes to the making of this situation must be considered valid and so worthy of our attention. If we are swayed by love or sentiment of veneration it is our duty to treat them as real and recognise their value; if we are forced by the purely physical conditions let us humbly confess that. There are occasions

when nationality through personality becomes a great factor in shaping the course of events, again there may be occasions when they lie dormant and great changes came upon nations and men, inspite of themselves. Historic sense demands that in judging of any situation we take it in its concrete setting and are not carried away by any arbitrary preconceived notion. When personality is the great outstanding factor we take this into account and when it is pushed in the back ground we better not talk of it at all. If we carry this temper in our researches we may discover that there were occasions when nothing like nationality was in existence. On some occasions man asserted himself more as an individual and that even very dimly. Gradually however there appeared the stages of personal and national consciousness, but once they appeared on the scene history became subservient to their call. But it is preposterous to assume that history keeps on obeying their demands for ever. Neither personality, nor nationality, nor even spirituality itself has any right to eternal existence. The same historical movements that led to the creation of these agencies may be working towards the evolution of even more dignified forms. Personality once it is born, aspires to arrest the ever revolving wheel of time, but it forgets that the time forces to which, in a sense, it owes its being are striving after a still higher type of being, of which at present, it can form no conception.

The true historic sense reveals to us at once the reality of the ideal of nationality and the absurdity of clinging to this ideal as an absolutely valid factor in the life of a people. In our struggle for the national ideal or the ideal of our community let us work for its realisation and let us build a history to stimulate us in our endeavour. That is a noble work ; but let us not forget that the time forces within which we are moving, are sweeping us past, inspite of ourselves, to a more glorious ideal, richer than nationality or communality, and that when it comes it shall stultify all the ideals which we hold so near and dear to us to-day.

When we shall learn to value the study of history as a method and undertake researches in this genuine temper of historicity, her lessons will bear lasting results. The more we study her in this light the more she will justify the faith with which we began her study.

JITENDRAKUMAR CHAKRAVARTY

THE CASTERBRIDGE OF THOMAS HARDY¹

Lovers of the Wessex Novels will find in Dorchester features with which they are already familiar though they may never have visited it before, just as the ardent reader of Kipling recognizes places and objects when visiting Lahore² or Simla for the first time. Many of the scenes described in "The Mayor of Casterbridge"³ remain as they were when it was written.

At first sight Dorchester strikes one as a great agricultural centre, with its two cattle markets, food markets and Corn Exchange. The shops too cry aloud of the Land, with their large array of farm and garden implements and food and medicines for animals and poultry.

The town wears an air of prosperity. Many banks speak of the business transacted here. Solid old established firms provide everything needful in food, furniture, or apparel for mansion or cottage. And while the town-dweller is amazed at the large display of oil lamps and stoves that cater for homes where gas or electricity is unknown, the next moment he may come upon an "arty" shop painted in bright colour and bearing a French name that looks as if it might have strayed down from Chelsea.

Dorchester is progressive mentally as well as materially. Besides the Grammar School founded by an ancestor of Thomas Hardy, which the novelist attended in his youth, there are educational establishments for boys and girls. A fine Art

¹ The Mayor of Casterbridge (1886) forms Vol. III of Wessex Novels, originally printed in The Graphic, and is considered, as one of Hardy's six great tragic novels and a landmark of the South Wessex Country.

² *E.g.* : Life's Handicap and Plain Tales from the Hills.

³ *Cf.* A Group of Noble Dames (1891) re-issued in 1896 and forming part of the 1928 edition of The Short Stories (Published by Messrs. Macmillan and Co.) and the poems edited "At Casterbridge Fair" particularly No. III.

School adjoins the County Museum. Here also the Field Club is located. It conducts excursions to the many historic spots in which the county is so rich. There is also a Debating Society with a membership of over 200 and the Women's Institute is building large quarters at Top O' Town.

The number of book shops proves that the Casterbridge folk are great readers. In their windows are the latest publications as well as standard works. Pride of place is given to the writings of Thomas Hardy, and portraits of the illustrious writer in all stages of his career are seen on every side.

The poems of William Barnes are also well to the fore, and a statue of Barnes stands before St. Peter's Church. He made, as we all know, a deep study of the Dorset dialect, and his poems have found favour with connoisseurs of literature all over the world.

The fire of 1613 destroyed most of the historic buildings, but, luckily, St. Peter's Church and the buildings adjoining were spared as well as the house where Judge Jeffries lodged, the Alms House and some of the old inns.¹

The general impression of Dorchester is of a clean dignified town with houses of mellowed red brick and tiled, lichened roofs. On the out-skirts are picturesque cottages thatched with the Dorset craftsman's well-known skill.

A picturesque feature is the tree-shaded, raised boulevard around the town. Another delight is the way in which town and country mingle. From the centre one looks down on lush, tree-shaded meadows with sleek cattle grazing beside slow streams. At the back rise the downs dotted with sheep.

In Casterbridge there is always a sense of bustle and stir. Gentle-folk from the big houses, parsons, farmers, villagers constantly come and go, some for the markets twice a week, others for the Assizes, Meetings, Cricket Week, or, may be, a Ball or Concert at the Corn Exchange.

¹ Vide Hermann Lea's "Thomas Hardy's Wessex" (1913).

Groups stand at the street corners exchanging the news just as they did when Hardy was a boy. But, while once they "put up" their horses at the Antelope or King's Arms, now they mostly "park their cars."

And, no matter whether you visit Casterbridge for its literary associations or for business or pleasure, the old place will weave a spell and its bells and bugles will call you back to "Dorset Dear."

L. F. STOCKWELL

NEHRU COMMITTEE'S REPORT—A CRITICAL STUDY

The publication of Nehru Committee's Report embodying a scheme of Indian constitutional Reform has come both as a "pleasant surprise" as well as a "pleasant disappointment." To friends of Indian political aspirations of whatever shade of opinion it is a piece of welcome news inasmuch as it has provided a common platform for the meeting of all political parties in the country to compose their mutual differences, to work out the details of a scheme of self-government and present a united demand to the British Parliament; to the enemies of India's political freedom it is as much of a disappointment in that it has taken the sting out of their contention that the "Babel of classes and communities which constitutes India cannot produce any agreed instrument for self-rule."

It is perhaps not possible to arrive at a correct estimate of the Report without taking into consideration the circumstances that led to the appointment of the Committee and its terms of reference. Before actually entering into a discussion of the merits of the Report itself we propose to give a very brief account of those circumstances.

As the date of the appointment of the Royal Commission provided for in section 84 (A) of the G. I. Act of 1919 was drawing nearer and rumours were in the air as to the possibility of an earlier appointment of the Commission, the question of constitution-making engaged the attention of certain sections of Indian politicians. Just at this time came the famous statement of Lord Birkenhead made before the House of Lords on July 7, 1925, on the British policy in India in course of which he observed :—

"It has been the habit of spokesmen of Swarajist thought to declare in anticipation, that no Constitution framed in the

West can either be suitable or acceptable to the peoples of India. It has always seemed to me that a very simple answer may be made to such a contention.

“ We do not claim in Great Britain that we alone in the world are able to frame constitutions, though we are not, discontented with the humble constructive efforts which we have made in this field of human ingenuity, but *if our critics in India are of the opinion that their greater knowledge of Indian conditions, qualifies them to succeed, where they tell us that we have failed, let them produce a Constitution which carries behind it a fair measure of general agreement, among the great people of India.*”

“ Such a contribution to our problems would nowhere be resented. It would, on the contrary, be most carefully examined by the Government of India, by myself, and I am sure, by the Commission, whenever that body may be assembled.”

This was considered in political circles as a “ challenge ” to the Indians’ capacity to produce a constitution carrying behind it “ a fair measure of general agreement.” But they did not seriously take up the challenge partly because of the attitude of distrust and indifference to professions of British statesmen—which has for some time past become rightly or wrongly patent in Congress politics—and partly because they were much too preoccupied with the more pressing problem of Hindu-Muslim unity. When some measure of success was attained in this sphere as a result of negotiations and conferences, the A.I.C.C. which met in Bombay in the month of May, 1927, passed a resolution calling upon “ the Working Committee to frame a constitution based on a declaration of rights for India in consultation with the elected members of the Central and Provincial Legislatures and other leaders of political parties. This was a move for the formulation of a draft constitution on the part of the Congress politicians only, ~~although~~ in collaboration with others. But the Madras Congress went a step further and along with the passing of the

“ Independence ” resolution it also passed another resolution authorising the Working Committee “ to confer with similar Committees to be appointed by other organisations—political, labour, commercial and communal—in the country and to draft a constitution for India ” and to place it for consideration before a Special Convention to be held in Delhi not later than March, 1928. This at once opened the door for a free conference of all sections of political thought. At the first meeting of the Conference it was found that there was a fundamental difference between the Congress party and other parties as regards the objective to be aimed at in the constitution—complete independence *vs.* Dominion Status.

When the Conference met again in Bombay on the 19th May, 1928, the situation was not at all a promising one. Prospects of arriving at a settlement of the communal issues as between the various communal organisations were as remote as ever. There being little chance of agreement in the open conference the present Committee was appointed with Pandit Matilal as Chairman and nine other members representing different sections of political thought as well as different interests and communities “ to consider and determine the principles of the constitution of India, to circulate the draft among various organisations in the country and to give the fullest consideration to the resolution of the Madras Congress on communal unity in conjunction with those passed by the Hindu Mahasabha, the Muslim League, the Sikh League and the other political organisations represented at the All-Parties Conference at Delhi and the suggestions that may be received by it.”

If we carefully study the political situation as given above and in the light of it examine the terms of reference we find the Committee have had to work under severe limitations. Unlike the constitutional conventions which have drafted the constitutions in the other self-governing dominions, the problem before the Nehru Committee was not simply to frame a constitutional scheme defining the status of the dominion as a

nation and its relation to what was so long the 'mother country ;' it was handicapped by two issues :

- (1) the problem of future constitutional status of India—the controversy between Dominion Status and complete independence, and
- (2) the very complicated social problem, one aspect of which is revealed in the Hindu-Muslim strife.

The Committee have however faced these difficulties squarely and boldly, and started in their work with a clear grasp of the problem before them which they have stated in the following words :—

“ As we visualise the problem, it is not to our mind, so much a question of the colour of the administrative and governmental machinery, as of the basic principle on which the future government shall be based. If all the members of the Governor General's Executive Council were Indians and if all the members of the bureaucracy in the provinces were Indians, it would only mean the substitution of a brown for a white bureaucracy. *The real problem to our mind, consists in the transference of political power and responsibility from the people of England to the people of India.*”*

Different schools of political thought, however much they may differ, as to the solution of the problem, as to the *modus operandi* to be followed, will certainly agree with the Committee as to the nature of the root problem in Indian politics to-day. Amidst the medley of opinions and conflicting interests the Committee have had to proceed very cautiously and haltingly in order to make its recommendations acceptable to all sections of the people. We find that the whole Report is pervaded by a spirit of compromise and sweet reasonableness. They have sought to find out the “greatest common factor” among the contending factions. Thus they have recommended

'dominion status' as the immediate objective, not because complete independence is unthinkable—and as a matter of fact they have left full liberty to those who would prefer independence as the immediate concern of India to work for it by means of propaganda in the country—but because they cannot get a large section of people to subscribe to it and so cannot put it forward as the united demand of India. In this way with regard to every question—the question of minority communities, redistribution of provinces and creation of new ones, the Native States, control of army, etc., they have made their recommendations on the basis of "maximum agreement" between conflicting interests and contending factions. They have laid the basis of a common understanding if only the parties concerned are inspired by a spirit of give and take and sweet reasonableness.

We can think of no other way of a practical solution of the complex problems of India. We have been constrained to make the introduction rather a little too long because adequate justice cannot be made to their findings and recommendations unless we look at them in their proper perspective, in the light of the difficulties that beset their path and the attitude they have been forced to take. Divorced from these considerations many of their recommendations may strike us, on the face of it, as against all logic, expediency or justice, but in order to appraise them at their true value we must make allowance for all these.

Let us now proceed to a study of their recommendations.

They have devoted a considerable portion of the Report—full two chapters extending over some 34 pages and we think quite rightly—to the communal question. We fully agree with them in the analysis of the problem, and its solution in the fostering of a spirit of 'live and let live,' 'the removal from' the minds of each of a baseless fear of the other and of giving a feeling of security to all communities.' We are also at one with them when they say, the only methods of giving

a feeling of security are safeguards and guarantees and the grant, as far as possible, of cultural autonomy. The clumsy and objectionable methods of separate electorates and reservation of seats do not give this security. *They only keep up an armed truce.* Separate electorates, they say, are not only bad for the growth of a national spirit but they are worse for the minority community itself, inasmuch as it has always to face a hostile majority. But we fail to reconcile this attitude of theirs to the communal problem with the *subsequent* recommendations they have made in some concrete questions ancillary to it, even allowing for the spirit of compromise, the desire to reach a "maximum of agreement," by which they have been actuated all through their work.

First of all to take the question of separation of Sind. We can understand its separation on administrative grounds, on economic grounds or on strategic grounds, but to separate it from a province of which it has formed a part so long without any inconvenience simply to satisfy the demand of a particular community which happens to be in a majority in this area would, to my mind, introduce new complications as well as defeat the very purpose which it is contemplated to serve.

Immediately this is done other communities who happen to be in a majority in particular areas will take the cue and demand the status of a province irrespective of all other considerations—a claim which it will be rather awkward to ignore without courting the charge of differential treatment and accentuating communalism. Since going to the press we find in the papers a similar demand put forward by the provincials of Orissa.

Moreover, we do not see any point in their argument that it is justified in the interests of cultural autonomy. If cultural autonomy can be secured by creating 'communal provinces' the boundaries of all provinces should be redrawn on communal lines which, they would agree, would have the same pernicious effects as communal electorates, if not worse. The best security for cultural autonomy is the spirit of 'live and let live,' a

mutual respect for the culture and tradition of each community and not artificial guarantees that may be created. Special facilities may be given to the different communities for the promotion of their distinctive culture but there should not be any sort of discrimination in this respect as between the different communities. Our firm conviction is that the creation of 'communal provinces' will not only have reaction on other communities but it will tend to foster the narrow aspect of communalism rather than promoting the cause of cultural autonomy. We are at a loss to make out how they brushed aside the proposal to create communal councils to protect the cultural interests of each community on the ground that they may keep communalism alive which, in our opinion, is far less harmless than the one to create a communal province. But while objecting to this proposal we must not be understood to have been influenced by considerations of gain or loss to the Hindu or any other minority whose economic interests might be adversely affected thereby; we do not believe that the interests of trade or commerce will suffer in the hands of the administrators to whatever community they may belong. In that case India will not be a safe place for investment for anybody and it will have a serious effect on public finance and consequently on sound administration. The objection is based on broad national grounds; there can be no objection whatever if it can be justified on administrative grounds or any grounds other than communal.

The next question that has engaged their attention is the reservation of seats. They have examined a number of propositions in this connection, *viz.*, (a) part reservation for majorities with freedom to contest other seats, (b) proportional representation, (c) amalgamation of the Punjab and N.W.F. province, with no reservation of seats, (d) no reservation, but special safeguards in the constitution for educational and economic advance of backward communities. Theoretically they have no objection to any of these proposals but they have not discussed them at length because from the

practical standpoint they would not go a great way towards the solution of the problem. So they have rightly concentrated their attention upon the main question, *viz.*, reservation of seats on the basis of population both for majorities and minorities.

They have shown by plausible arguments that this proposal for reservation of seats on population basis for majorities as well as minorities in different territorial units is unjustifiable in theory and unwarranted by facts and figures. But it is really difficult to follow the line of arguments by which they have supported their recommendation for "the reservation of seats, when demanded for Muslim minorities both in the central and provincial legislatures in strict proportion to their population with the right to contest additional seats *for a fixed period of ten years.*"*

It is a patent fact that reservation of seats on communal grounds is incompatible with representative and responsible government. It will bolster up undeserving candidates not enjoying the confidence of the electorate at the cost of the real nominees of the people and the executive depending upon the votes of so-called "representatives" cannot be strictly speaking responsible to the people. It will detract from the value of the vote as an instrument for the political education of the masses. It has been shown by an analysis of the figures of population in Bengal and the Punjab as well as by a reference to the actual results of the District Board elections in Bengal that the fear of the Muslim majorities in these two provinces that they would be swamped have no foundation in fact, "that there are natural areas of reservation for the different communities which ensure the representation of each community far more effectively than any artificial reservation can do." Then again even with reservation of seats the Muslims will remain a minority in the central legislature as well as in the legislatures of the provinces where they are a minority

in population. In any case they would have to depend on the good sense of the majority for promoting the interests of their community with this difference that special reservation of seats may go to alienate the sympathies of others. Thus, this demand for reservation of seats is absolutely without logic or practical wisdom. Thus, the burden of evidence points to the only conclusion that the demand for reservation of seats cannot be entertained on rational grounds but is based only on sentimental grounds; and we are really at a loss how to reconcile this position with their final recommendations on the question. To our mind, in a politically free India there should be no place for communal issues so far as public life is concerned, and once we recognise communal claims in the sphere of politics the evil will tend to perpetuate itself. "We should take a lesson from the experience of the working of the Montford scheme." The authors of the "Montford" Report were dead against the creation of communal electorates very much on the same grounds as given above, yet they felt themselves constrained by force of circumstances to recommend its continuance for a time till a better atmosphere prevailed. But may we ask has a better atmosphere prevailed since then? Has not communal representation tended to import communal considerations into issues which are purely political in character? Has not politics degenerated into a veritable scramble among the different communities for the loaves and fishes? Has it satisfied the demands of the minority communities or has it not rather tended to pitch them still higher? Has it succeeded in bridging over the gulf between them by mutual trust and good will or has it made it wider? As between communal electorates and reservation of seats we see no fundamental difference, and if there is any, it is only one of degree and not of kind.

Perhaps they will reply that they have recommended it as a measure of last resort, if an agreement is impossible on any other basis and even then only for a period of ten years. As they have themselves observed, "We cannot be taken to have

recommended what we have expressly opposed. But we recognise the value of a *compromise between parties and communities however wrong it may be in principle*, and if such a compromise is arrived at in spite of ourselves, we can do no more than try to limit its operation."

But we see no point in effecting a compromise at any cost even when it is calculated to defeat its own purpose. If communalism is rife no such concessions will be able to pacify it; on the contrary it will fan the flames of communal jealousy and distrust. It is like the head of the Hydra; if you meet the demands put forward to-day, new ones will spring up to-morrow.

We very much doubt that at the end of ten years the Muslims will voluntarily forego the claim for special reservation, for it is against human nature.

They have perhaps indulged in a bit of robust optimism when they observe: "we are certain that as soon as India is free and can face her problems unhampered by alien authority and intervention, the minds of her people will turn to the vital problems of the day. How many questions that are likely to be considered by our future legislatures can be of a communal nature?... Parties will be formed in the country and in the legislature on entirely other grounds, chiefly economic, we presume. We shall then find Hindus and Muslims and Sikhs in one party acting together and opposing another party which also consists of Hindus and Muslims and Sikhs. This is bound to happen if we once get going." How we would that it were so and perhaps in this case wish has been the father to the thought. But however desirable this situation may be, we cannot hope for it, if we get going with statutory communal majorities or minorities. Party alignments are bound to be drawn on communal lines with considerable danger to the stability of the state.

Then again, there is another danger lurking in the above proposal. It will give a handle to the communal consciousness of the many small minority communities such as Indian

Christians, Jains, Arya Samajists, etc., who have not as yet been communal. For, if we make concessions to one minority we cannot legitimately withhold it from others when they demand them. In that case consciousness of political unity which is the *sine qua non* of orderly state life would be killed by the disruptive forces thus brought into play.

We are quite at one on this point with Sardar Mangal Singh who in his dissentient note to the resolution recommending temporary reservation of seats says : " I am very strongly opposed to the creation of statutory communal majorities on population basis *under all circumstances and for any time howsoever short it may be*. If agreement can only be reached by reservation of seats I will recommend that the case of the Sikhs be considered as that of an important minority and adequate and effective representation, far in excess of their numerical strength, be given to them in the Punjab on the basis adopted for Muslim minorities under the Lucknow pact in Bihar and other provinces." From the broad national point of view the only reasonable solution of the communal question in India is to dispense with the idea of special political rights and privileges for any community. There should be perfect political equality as between one citizen and another. In the political sphere we should refuse to recognise communities as definite units within the state ; the individual citizen is the unit of the state everywhere and there is no earthly reason why it should be otherwise in India. We are ready to provide for the promotion of cultural or economic interests of the weak or intellectually backward communities. There is no objection in principle even to the proposal for creating communal councils for promoting the cultural autonomy of each community ; for every community has a right to develop on its own lines within the state and communalism in its better aspect, that is, in the sense of cultural autonomy, is in no way inconsistent with nationalism. But we cannot by any means support special political rights for any one community, not because it may mean some loss to other communities but

because it retards the growth of a broad national outlook in the people, rivets their attention on the communal aspects of every question and demoralises political life in the country. If we cannot agree on this basis let us frankly admit defeat ; there is no use hoodwinking the outside world and practising self-deception, by making a show of unity whereas it is only a patched-up compromise which is bound to break in no time to our utter disgust and disappointment and the ridicule and contempt of our enemies. It is simply a piece of self-deception to gloss over the exterior while the inside is all rot. We have no right to claim Swaraj or national self-government if we cannot place the interests of the nation higher than the interests of the community. National freedom cannot be bought cheaply. Sacrifice of this narrow communal consciousness is not a very high price for Swaraj.

I am not disposed to be so pessimistic as to believe that good sense will not prevail among the different communities. What is wanted is a systematic propaganda among the people by a disinterested band of workers, imbued with a true nationalist feeling, who will clearly explain the implications of communalism to them in all their bearings. My firm conviction is that the present tension does not truly reflect the relation between the two communities among the masses in the country; it is an abnormal phase brought about by an insidious propaganda systematically carried on by a particular section of both communities who want to exploit this situation to further their own interests. If the actualities of the situation be brought home to the people by means of a counter propaganda that their real and permanent interests lie not in running at each other's throat but rather in joining hands like brothers in the cause of the motherland, in thinking of the nation first and community next,—I have enough faith in the intelligence and good sense of the common people in India to think that they will give up the extravagant special claims of their respective communities for the sake of the more permanent interests of the

nation. It is only then that we can have a national legislature in the true sense of the term and not a congress of delegates of different sectional and communal interests and it is only then that the dream of Swaraj will be realised. A patched-up compromise may work for some time but it cannot endure long. I have taken up rather an unduly long space in the discussion of the proposals of the Committee on this one question but I do not think that it is not commensurate with its importance, for this is perhaps the problem of problems in India at the present day.

There is not much to say on the next question propounded by the Committee, *viz.*, the redistribution of provinces. There can be no objection in principle to the Committee's view that the existing administrative divisions of the country are fanciful and artificial without any regard for ethnic, geographical or linguistic unity. From this standpoint their recommendation for redistribution of the provinces on the twin principles of linguistic unity and wishes of the people is justified. But it appears that they have not attached the same degree of importance to another potent consideration, *viz.*, that of administrative convenience including geographic position, economic resources, and financial stability—that it very well deserves. We cannot agree with them when they say “administrative convenience is often a matter of arrangement and must as a rule bow to the wishes of the people.” We think, on the other hand, that the redistribution should be effected by a proper balancing of all these considerations.

Next we come to another question of immense political importance for Indian statesmen to which the Committee have devoted the attention that it well deserves, *viz.*, the problem of the Native States. The first question that they have considered in this connection is whether ‘native states’ can altogether be left out from the scheme of constitutional reform for India and their conclusion is that “there are so many affinities—historical, religious, sociological and economic,—between “the

two Indias ' that it would be absurd to deal with the problem of Indian States on the assumption that the dynamic forces now in operation in British India can for a very long period of time be expected to spend themselves on the borders of India.' But unfortunately the attitude of the rulers of these States is far from sympathetic in actual practice, whatever may be 'their professions, to the political aspirations of the people of the two Indias. Here lies the crux of the problem. They have chosen to ask for or to acquiesce in the appointment of the Butler Committee which is precluded, by their terms of reference, from dealing with the constitutional issue, which is sitting in camera to collect information and whose only object seems to be to make out a case for special rights and privileges of the Princes.

The Committee have applied themselves with characteristic ability to a study of the constitutional position of the States, the relationship between the rulers and the paramount power and concluded that so far as the constitutional position is concerned it would not materially be altered if dominion status be granted to India. To quote their own words : " We think, however, that the plain fact ought not to be overlooked that the *Government of India as a dominion will be as much the King's government* as the present Government of India is, and that there is no constitutional objection to the dominion Government of India stepping into the shoes of the present Government of India. If there are personal ties of allegiance or devotion which bind the Indian princes to the throne, person or dynasty of the King, *they cannot, and ought not, to suffer in strength by a change or modification in the composition of King's government in India*, when India attains dominion status.' The Committee then go on to expose the fallacies in the arguments put forward by Sir Leslie Scott who has been briefed by the Princes to present their case before the Butler Committee. " In any case " they point out " the conclusion which is sought to be drawn from these propositions is of such far-reaching

consequences that it may be taken as definitely certain that if the Indian Princes decide to take their stand upon the position so ingeniously argued out for them, British India must substantially discount their profession of sympathy with its aspirations to dominion status." The Princes have made a fetish of their direct relationship with the crown but the Committee have brought it home by inexorable force of logic that even admitting its existence the change in the composition or nature of the governmental machinery in India or at Home does not at all alter the situation. The crown does not mean in constitutional theory and practice the personality of the crown but the responsible agents of the crown and in this case it is the King's Government in India, no matter whether that Government be responsible to the British Parliament or the Indian Parliament, whether it be white or brown. If they have no objection to the Political Secretary of the Government of India exercising vast powers over them there is no logic in their refusal to deal with a similar official appointed by the Dominion Government of India. It may be argued that they feel nervous that in case their interests clash with those of the present-day 'British India' they would have to go to the wall. But these fears are, to say the least, baseless and unfounded; because the Committee have provided adequate safeguards against such eventualities. In regard to matters of a justiciable character they have suggested that in case of difference between the Commonwealth and an Indian State on any matter arising out of treaties, engagements and *sanads* the Governor General in Council may with the consent of the State concerned refer the matter to the Supreme Court for decision and the constitution of the Supreme Court may be so devised as to inspire the confidence of all parties. In regard to non-justiciable matters involving financial and administrative relations, they have suggested settlement by means of mutual conferences and understandings. I think these suggestions should be hailed by the Princes as a definite improvement of the *status quo* for now in such cases the Princes get no

hearing at all. The way in which certain Princes have been forced to abdicate of late and the reply to the despatch of the Nizam of Hyderabad advancing his claim to Berar will at once bring home the truth of this statement.

We are in perfect agreement with the recommendations in the Report regarding the relation of the Princes with the future Commonwealth of India, viz., that the Dominion Government of India should simply step into the shoes of the present Government of India. This is the only common platform on which the two Indias can meet.

In summing up the position I would like to quote some passages from an article in a recent issue of an Anglo-Indian Daily Paper on the 'Princely Problems':—

'They (the Native Princes) use correct and frequently friendly language about the Reforms in British India and the scheme for progressive self-government. They claim also some voice or share in all-India affairs, and on the strength of their well-known loyalty to their treaties and to the crown, they ask that their *direct relationship with the Paramount Power* should continue. It is a good case but there is another side to it. The princes have enjoyed complete immunity not only from war-like attacks by one another or by third parties, but also complete internal security. At rare intervals misgovernment has become such an open scandal that the Paramount Power has intervened, and a ruler has been deposed. But even in such cases the rights of his family have been maintained, whereas a corrupt ruler if left to the mercy of subjects goaded to rebellion might have lost his life and also the throne for his heirs. *It does not seem possible to bring the Princes into an all-India scheme*, and at the same time to *continue the present plan of giving them in general carte blanche to misgovern as much as they like* though we do not mean that misgovernment is the rule. Some constitutional protection, however, the subjects must have. The Paramount Power cannot make a wholly one-sided bargain.'

Last of all we admire the foresight of the Committee in having sounded a note of warning against withholding dominion status from India until the States have made up their minds to join the Indian federation. We shall conclude our discourse with some remarks on the outlines of a draft constitution that they have presented in chapter VII of the Report. A constitution can be judged from two standpoints—administrative and philosophic. In its administrative aspect again it may be considered how far it embodies all the fundamental principles of good government or, in other words, how far it deals with indispensable factors of a good constitution, *viz.*, an amending clause, declaration of liberty and the structure of government. But even if it be quite a perfect and finished thing in this respect it points simply to its paper value, the true test of success of a constitution as an instrument of government lies in its smooth working without causing any friction between the different organs of the government as well as between the governmental authority and the people. This can only be judged by the test of time—as a tree can be judged by the fruit it bears. Last of all, a constitution is not to be taken as a mere soulless mechanism but as a barometer of national life and thought. It is an expression of the collective will of the people as to the way how their common purposes are to be realised, how best the many problems of national life are to be solved in consonance with the trends of thought and activity in the world outside. How far a particular constitution proves a success or not in this way—only the verdict of Time can declare.

Now, so far as this draft constitution is concerned we find that as a paper instrument it satisfies all the requirements of a written constitution of an orthodox type beginning, as it does, with a detailed declaration of rights, embodying provision for its amendment and the structure of the governmental machinery.

On the second and third points given above posterity alone can give their judgment if ever it happens to come into force as

the constitution of the federal commonwealth of India with all the details filled up. We shall here confine ourselves to the discussion of some of its salient features.

First of all the declaration of rights strikes us rather as too comprehensive in character and imposing uncalled for limitations on the legitimate sphere of the future Parliament of India. Of course we appreciate their motive in withdrawing certain ordinary civil rights which in other countries are regulated by the legislature in the peculiar circumstances of India,—the motive being to make concessions to minority communities and interests but expediency, in our opinion, is against such a measure. It may lead to further complications every small community and interest may demand special protection against the legislature. It would have a very undesirable effect on the *morale* of the legislature. Items (v), (xii), (xiii), (xiv) and (xvii), i.e., those conferring the right to free elementary education, securing protection against inequality in civic rights on religious grounds and making it obligatory on the Legislature to make laws for the maintenance of health and fitness for work of all citizens, securing living wage for workers, maternity welfare, etc.,—cannot, properly speaking, be brought under fundamental rights. They would constitute an unnecessary handicap on the powers of the legislature and undermine people's confidence in it. Special protection guaranteed to interests of labour by items nos. (xv) and (xvi) may be resented by the capitalistic interests and accentuate the problem of labour and capital as in Western countries instead of mitigating it. In the next place we cannot look favourably upon the proposal for the scheme of the electorate for the Upper House. We fully agree with the Committee that "direct election to the Senate can only result in either a replica of the Lower House or in producing a reactionary body representing some vested interests only" but at the same time American experience of the State legislatures as electorates for the Senate warns us against its repetition here. I think in this respect we may profitably take a leaf out of the French consti-

tution. Electoral Colleges of the French type may be instituted in India and the principle of rotation and partial renewal may be usefully applied in respect of the Senate.

Lastly, let us examine their recommendation for universal adult suffrage. Taking everything into consideration we cannot support the proposal for immediate introduction of adult suffrage in India. Apart from considerations of practical difficulty involved the soil in India is not yet prepared to receive the seeds of universal suffrage.

Demos is, after all, a mighty force, potent of infinite good and infinite evil; so there is need for caution in handling it. I am not so sceptical as to think that "universal teaching must precede universal enfranchisement." I am even ready to accept the position of the authors of the Report that "any artificial restriction on the right to vote in a democratic constitution is an unwarranted restriction on democracy itself;" but at the same time we cannot brush aside so lightly "the objection based on the prevailing illiteracy of the masses and their lack of political experience." The result of conferring the suffrage on all adult males and females, an overwhelming majority of whom has not even acquaintance with the three R's, not to speak of a fair knowledge of the outlines of the constitution, or the significance of the vote, would be to give a *carte blanche* to demagogues, interested politicians and the landed aristocracy to exploit these people as an instrument for the furtherance of their own interest. Specially in the political atmosphere of the present day surcharged with communal jealousy and distrust and factious spirit of the most abominable character universal suffrage would give a handle to rake up these issues at the general election. If there be some amount of political education in the electorate, voters cannot be worked up so readily by an appeal to these base passions as an uneducated electorate can be. There is no gainsaying the fact that the purpose of introducing joint electorates, viz., to make the candidates of each community

dependent on the votes of the other community and thus for fostering a spirit of mutual sympathy and co-operation—would be defeated by universal enfranchisement *just at the present moment*. I lay special emphasis on the last phrase, as after some time, when communal passions have ceased to run high, when issues other than communal loom large on the political horizon of India as they are bound to do, and when party alignments run on these issues, there is no objection to the introduction of universal suffrage irrespective of considerations of literacy and political education. In England and America also few people have the political education to understand the main political issues of the day and few exercise their vote on a correct estimate of the merits of the cause that each candidate champions. But there they have got clear-cut parties each with a distinct tradition and a distinct outlook on the current problems. So the ordinary voter—the man in the street—is saved the trouble of choosing between the rival candidates and has simply to choose between different programmes and this certainly does not demand a high order of intelligence or political education but only a bit of common sense.

Then again, immediate universal suffrage to females in our country would unnecessarily enlarge the electorate and introduce many complications. Looking at the standard of education or rather literacy, the peculiar social position and habits and customs in this country, one cannot but grow despondent of the prospects of universal suffrage among females. It would be futile in many parts of the country because of the prevalence of the *purdah* system and in others it would have the effect of offering a political premium on early marriage by giving additional weight to the communities among whom this custom prevails; because wives will invariably act on the dictation of the husbands in this matter. I must not be understood, of course, to be opposed to female franchise in principle but what I mean is that our country

is not yet ripe for universal female suffrage, there can be no objection to giving the vote to females with some qualifications. Even in our local bodies universal suffrage has not been tried; even if it had been tried and found successful that would not have warranted us in extending it by parity of reasoning to the sphere of the national government. For the man in the street may be competent to give his judgment on questions of local character which affect him immediately in his daily life. He may exercise his right to vote judiciously in local politics but the same people would fail to arrive at a correct judgment on issues of national importance and of many-sided character.

I think the analogy of the success of universal suffrage employed in the elections to the Shiromani Gurdwara Probandhak Committee put forward by the Committee in advocating its introduction in national elections has not been quite happy for the reason given above.

So, although we would like to see a considerable enlargement of the electorate as the basis for responsible self-government we do not favour the introduction of universal adult suffrage just at the present moment. Of the three other alternative proposals referred to by the Committee we favour the second, *viz.*, "the extension of the franchise from the present six millions to about 60 millions leaving it to a Committee to determine the franchise which would give this result." In other respects the scheme is a finished instrument of human ingenuity embodying the best features of the most up-to-date constitutions in the modern civilised world with due regard to the peculiar conditions of India. Of course how far it would prove successful in practical working time alone can decide.

Differences of opinion there will always be and it would be more than human to expect that the Report will meet with universal approbation in all its details but no one will perhaps question the sincerity of purpose and honesty of

the motives of the authors of the Report in their attempt at creating a common platform for all sections of political thought in India. We may conclude in the words of Sir John Simon "the Report of the Committee is admirably written and an able statement of the view-point of certain groups of Indian politicians."

AKSHOY KUMAR GHOSAL

THE TRUE IDEAL OF A UNIVERSITY

Many of us do not yet thoroughly realise the importance of a teaching University. Ever since the creation of the Calcutta University in 1857 down to 1914, we have been used to an affiliating type of University, which is primarily an examining and regulating body, and not a teaching body. The primary function of such a University is the conducting of examinations, and by means of examinations, and Regulations secure continued efficiency. The training of men for life is left to Colleges established primarily for preparing candidates for examinations.

But the traditional idea of a University in Europe and America is different. The word University comes from the Latin word *Universitas*, a Corporation. The word *Universitas* is met with in a manuscript of the early part of the thirteenth century relating to the University of Oxford. There the phrase *Universitas magistrorum et scholarium* occurs, which means a Corporation of teachers and scholars. Thus fellowship and research were the characteristics of the first Universities, and the same traditional idea has been handed on to their successors. We read in the Sadler Commission Report that "According to the accepted view of almost all progressive societies, a University ought to be a place of learning, where a Corporation of scholars labour in comradeship for the training of men and the advancement and diffusion of knowledge." In the words of Lord Haldane, "a University is a place of research, where the new and necessary knowledge is to be developed, and it is further a place of training, where the exponents of that knowledge—the men who are to seek authority based on it—are to be nurtured and receive their baptism." Exactly the same view has been taken by Sir Robert Falconer, the President of the University of Toronto in Canada. To quote his words: "A

University is a society of persons whose primary function is to educate and to extend the boundaries of knowledge." In the first place, every University must be a society of persons who labour in comradeship for the advancement and diffusion of knowledge. It is common experience that enthusiasm rouses enthusiasm—that enthusiasm is roused by the personal contact of mind with mind. As iron sharpens iron, so does the countenance of a man his fellow teacher. Men work together, contribute new ideas together, and a disinterested fellow-teacher pursuing earnest researches even in an alien field may inspire another with needed enthusiasm just when the routine of professional duties is proving prejudicial to one's intellectual vitality. Thus a society of intellects is essential in a University.

There must not only be a society of scholars and teachers, but they must go on extending the bounds of knowledge. In other words, they must carry on research. "Research means investigation, the tracking of truth, and truth may lie either behind us or before." It must not be thought that the term research belongs properly to natural science alone, but research in humanistic studies is research as well. In the field of natural science, research is carried on for discovering the hitherto unknown properties of nature. In the field of humanities, it mainly deals with the knowledge of man's thoughts and experience in the past and the present. As a man of culture, we must know human nature, we must know the past histories of nations, we must be acquainted with the various political and economic problems which face us every day. The knowledge of the past history of man's thoughts and experience is as important as the research which produces aniline dyes or the optic glass.

It is common knowledge that unless a study is founded on research, it will die. A teacher who gives the same piece of stereo-typed information, year in and year out, fails to inspire his pupils. A teacher must always be a learner. If he wants to rouse enthusiasm in his pupils, he must not only teach

students the methods of research but go on adding to his stock of knowledge either by personal research or by keeping himself acquainted with the research of others. A stagnant pond refreshes none. But a lake which is receiving a constant flow of living waters can alone be a source of vigour and health to others. By referring to the past history of the Universities of Europe it can be shown that when a University lost its zeal for advancement and diffusion of learning, it became sterile. The University of Paris which was the seat of learning for centuries, "ceased to be a great hearth of intellectual activity," when it lost its spirit of research. Medicine, Law and Theology were cultivated there without an ideal. In the 13th century, Oxford became "a mere aggregate of Colleges and privileged halls," and in the 14th century when Cambridge subserved merely the purposes of worldly ambition it ceased to be a centre of higher culture. Thus we see that fellowship and research are essential features of a University. Judging from the above ideal, the Indian Universities down to 1914 were not Universities. They were not societies of scholars, but only of administrators. They had nothing to do with the training of pupils, but only with their examinations; they were not concerned with learning except in so far as it could be tested by examinations. The Colleges were the only places of culture. But as the real function of these Colleges lay in preparing students for examinations, they were virtually so many coaching schools. As they had the same curricula and had to pay too much attention to examinations, they were of the same model. Their teaching was limited to the ordinary conventional subjects, and their teachers within their own subjects were prevented from teaching things which they knew best. Thus the students did not value culture for its own sake, but mainly as a means for obtaining marketable qualifications. Hence the Calcutta University Commission (1917-1919) recommends that "examination reform is a necessary condition for the reform of education."

We read in the Sadler Commission Report that all the Indian Universities were constituted after the pattern of the University of London. Since 1884 there had been a growing opinion in London that the University ought to have teaching functions and that it was no true University which did not undertake teaching. In 1898 an Act of Parliament transformed the University of London into a teaching University, while keeping intact its system of examinations for external students. In accordance with the recommendations of 1902, the Indian Universities Act was enacted which provided for the teaching function of the University and the Regulations were framed to carry out in detail the principles laid down in the Act. As the Act did not make any provision for the inclusion of the Colleges as constituent Colleges of the University, Indian Universities were confined only to post-graduate teaching in Arts and Science.

Though the Indian Universities Act was passed in 1904 and the Regulations were framed some time after, teaching work on an adequate scale was assumed only by the University of Calcutta so late as in 1914.

There is distinction between a College and a University. It is now generally admitted that College instruction is one thing and University instruction is another. The chief function of a College is to teach young men between the ages of 18 to 22, who still require the guidance of a professional teacher. Its duty resembles that of a secondary school. The only distinction in the function between a secondary school and a College is that in the former the pupil is placed under a strong and despotic control; but the College teaching means a relaxation in the outward form of control while still retaining a sense of responsibility and a personal interest in young men placed under its charge. In the years of higher study at Universities, the relation between the teacher and the taught is accepted on both sides as one of mutual independence, the teachers are only senior colleagues, guiding the independent research of the

students. In other words, "College instruction requires definite, but not uniform methods, a certain deference to the authority of the master ; while University instruction is much freer, and the scholar is encouraged to inquire rather than to accept ; to test and observe rather than to hear and recite ; to walk with a friendly guide rather than to obey a Commander."¹ Thus a College and a University have to discharge two disparate functions. But in the most of the progressive countries of the world, these two disparate functions combine in one organisation under the name of University, whose aim should never be confused. In Bengal, in the University of Calcutta, these two distinct functions have been kept separate, but in the recently created University of Dacca these two functions have been combined in one institution under the name of University.

But can we set any limit to the boundaries of a University ? We think not. The boundaries of a University are co-extensive with knowledge itself. No knowledge can be foreign to the domain of a University.

To express the same thought in the words of Francis Newman : "All knowledge whatever is taken into account in a University, as being the special seat of the large philosophy which embraces and locates truth of every kind and every method of attaining it."² Viscount Haldane holds much the same view. He says : "It is for us to see that we make the Universities, which after all are the sources of power, *strong enough and comprehensive enough in their aim* to meet the new demand that goes to the very roots of the welfare of the State."³ The late Sir Asutosh Mookerjee had the same high conception of the dignity and vocation of a University when he urged in his Convocation speech in Lahore that it was a "paramount necessity that in a University worthy of the name, the course of instruction should cover the whole field of human thought and

¹ Vide the article "Universities" in Encyclopædia Britannica, 11th edition.

² *Essays and Literary Studies*, p. 68.

³ Vide the Report of the Second Congress of the Empire.

intellectual activity so that she might participate to the fullest extent in the diffusion and extension of knowledge and that she might be in a position to satisfy the requirements of all the students who might flock to her gates actuated by various kinds of needs and desires."

Indeed, learning has no territorial limits. There is no such thing as national learning. World learning is the only thing worth considering in a University. Such a high conception of the dignity of a University, even higher than anything that can immediately be realized, is the way to ennoble the Institution itself.⁴ We learn from the "Times" that in recent years the University of Oxford has developed, expanded, and modernized. "In 1921 there is hardly a subject of human knowledge, hardly a single language of articulate and inarticulate men on this earth, which has not its own school, professor, and students." "This is equally true of Cambridge, Harvard, Yale and other big Universities of the world. If this is the true ideal of a University, why do we hear talk of specialisation? Why do we hear that each University should confine its attention to some special field of research? This is because if every University will try to do everything, there will be overlapping and waste of energy as well as of money, besides an unhealthy competition. Most of the Universities of the United Kingdom teach Greek and Latin but special provisions for advanced classical studies exist only in Oxford and hence Oxford has specialised in classical studies. Elementary teaching in agriculture has been undertaken by many Universities of Great Britain but special provisions for their study exist only in Cambridge and Reading. Similarly Liverpool has specialised in Tropical Medicine, Leeds in Textiles, Sheffield in Metallurgy. In a country where there are many Universities and where one branch of knowledge is taken up by one of these Universities for specialisation on a large scale and the very same subject is studied intensively by

⁴ *Vide Francis Newman's Preface to the translation of Huber's 'The English Universities.'*

any other University, there will be overlapping and waste of energy as well as of money. But we must make a distinction between *specialisation* and *generalism* (to use a term coined by Professor Lee of the University of Oxford). All eminent educationists of the world are at one in thinking that some *general* subjects of higher education must be taught in a University even though we wish to apply to it the principle of specialisation. A University cannot wholly confine itself to the study of physical science or wholly to humanism. Students in humanistic subjects will suffer if they are entirely divorced from physical science, and students of physical science will suffer if the whole of their course is devoted to it without an admixture of letters. So every University must teach certain general branches of study but such subjects as Engineering or Metallurgy may not be taken up by every University. There are Universities that have great advantages from their position with regard to specialisation in certain branches of study and those subjects should be undertaken by them for intensive study. For instance, oriental studies may conveniently be taken up by the Indian Universities for specialisation. The Calcutta University is the first teaching University of British India and is of recent growth. Other Indian Universities more or less based upon the Calcutta model have taken up some of those very subjects which have already been taken up by Calcutta. The teaching Universities of India are in the course of formation and so any specialisation can hardly be claimed in their favour.

We learn from the admirable Annual Convocation speech of Sir Asutosh Mookerjee, the then Vice-Chancellor of the Calcutta University, delivered on the 18th March, 1922, that the Calcutta University authorities took up for post-graduate study and research 21 distinct branches of knowledge, namely, English, Sanskrit, Pali, Arabic, Persian, Indian Vernaculars, Comparative Philology, Mental and Moral Philosophy, History, Political Economy and Political Philosophy, Commerce, Pure Mathematics, Physics, Chemistry, Physiology, Botany,

Geology, Zoology, Experimental Psychology and Anthropology. The Calcutta University Commission (1917-1919) examined almost all these divisions and their sub-divisions and did not consider them unnecessary. On the contrary, the Commission recommended that further development was desirable in the following branches of study already existing in the University of Calcutta or its Colleges, and that the provision in some of these subjects was quite inadequate: (1) Comparative Philology, (2) English, (3) Sanskrit, (4) Pali, (5) Arabic, (6) Persian, (7) Tibetan, (8) Chinese, (9) Japanese, (10) Philosophy, (11) Experimental Psychology, (12) Education, (13) Physical Education, (14) History including Islamic History, (15) Jurisprudence, (16) Economics and Commerce, (17) Statistics, (18) Physics, (19) Chemistry, (20) Botany, (21) Zoology, (22) Physiology, (23) Bacteriology, (24) Mining, (25) Engineering—Mechanical and Electrical.

Further, Sir Michael Sadler and his colleagues append the following list of subjects in which departments of study ought in future to be established as funds permit:—

(1) Indian Vernaculars, (2) Hebrew and Syriac, (3) Greek and Latin, (4) French, German, and other European Languages, (5) Phonetics, (6) Geography, (7) Palæontology, (8) Astronomy, (9) Entomology, (10) Bio-Chemistry, (11) History of Medicine, (12) Meteorology, (13) Aeronautics, (14) Naval Architecture, (15) Agriculture, (16) Forestry, (17) Sciences of Leather Industries, (18) Colour Chemistry, (19) Metallurgy, (20) Sciences of Textile Industries, (21) Ethnology, (22) Religions, (23) Sociology, (24) Architecture, (25) Indian Graphic Arts, (26) Indian Music, (27) Indian Numismatics.

Thus we see that the Sadler Commission instead of restricting the present expansion of the post-graduate department recommends its further development and expansion, as funds allow. I cannot but conclude this article with the following enumeration of the sound principles that are more or less followed by all the Universities of the United States:—

“ 1. There is a disciplinary stage in education which is the requisite introduction to the higher and freer work of the University.

2. The success of the higher work depends upon the intellectual and moral qualities of the professors. No amount of material prosperity is of value unless the dominant authorities are able to discover, secure and retain as teachers men of rare gifts, resolute will, superior training and an indomitable love of learning.

3. The professors in a University should be free from all pecuniary anxiety, so that their lives may be consecrated to their several callings ; pensions should be given them in cases of disability, and, in case of premature death, to their families. In methods of instruction they should have as large an amount of freedom as may be consistent with due regard for the co-operation of their colleagues and the plans of the foundation.

4. The steady improvement of the libraries and laboratories is essential if the institution is to keep in the front line. The newest books and best apparatus are indispensable, for instruments and books quickly deteriorate and must be superseded.

5. For all these outlays large endowments are required. To a considerable extent reliance must be placed on wealthy and public-spirited citizens. In order to enlist such support, the members of a faculty should manifest their interest in public affairs, and by books, lectures and addresses should inform the public and interest them in the progress of knowledge.

6. Publication is one of the duties of a professor. He owes it not only to his reputation but also to his science, to his colleagues, to the public, to put together and set forth, for the information and criticism of the world, the results of his inquiries, reflections and investigations. Qualified students should also be encouraged, under his guidance, to print and publish their dissertations.”

ABHAYAKUMAR GUHA

Vide the article "Universities," in Encyclopædia Britannica, Vol. 27, p. 777.

CHARACTERISTICS OF OLD AND MEDIÆVAL BENGALI LITERATURE.

The interest in modern Bengali literature is daily on the increase not only in Bengal itself but also outside it. The anglicised Bengali Babu, satirised by Tekchand and Bankim, felt, or pretended to feel, contempt for the literature of his country, but these fifty years displaying a remarkable record of literary production and fostering the growth of patriotic impulses, have brought about a change for the better. Bengali literature is no longer considered to be unworthy of notice in fashionable circles ; on the contrary, there are many to-day who believe that it has a glorious future before it. An enquiry then may be reasonably and naturally made as to the temper or spirit of its antecedents or in other words the *characteristics* of the old and mediæval Bengali literature. For this purpose it is certainly not necessary to take a survey of the vast region of Bengali literature from the earliest times to the nineteenth century ; our purpose will be served if we confine ourselves to books of permanent literary value. The minor tendencies may be safely overlooked. Even strict chronology need not hamper us ; we are not tracing the history of Bengali literature or rigorously observing the proper sequence of authors, books and movements ; we are merely concerned here with finding out its dominant characteristics before it came under Western influence, developed tendencies which it had not yet shown, and became modern in tone, in subject-matter and in sympathies.

In the first place, it is to be noticed that what dominates the old and mediæval Bengali literature is the *note of religion*. *Sūnyapurāṇa*, once considered as one of the earliest books but now relegated even to the 17th century, is modelled on the scriptures or rather books of religious procedure, of religious rites, and is a combination (one feels tempted to say, a jumble) of history and theology. *Krishṇakīrtana* contains snatches of real poetry and is mainly erotic from beginning to end ; but even

this has recourse to the Bhāgavata and its mythology for its framework. The Vaisnava works which occupy the major portion of the field breathe a lofty air far removed from the work-a-day world. Numerous are the works of noble sentiment and pious devotion composed by Vaisnavas in elegant verse, but they are explicitly meant to preach and extol the name of God and to explain divine love in their own way.

The Mangal Kāvya, which next claim attention have a definite purpose to serve, to introduce and propagate a certain cult and this motive is obvious. Sometimes there are elaborate invocations, sometimes there are none. In the Chandimangala by Kavikankana published by the Calcutta University as many as one hundred and six pages are occupied with invocations and cosmogony. There are salutations in verse offered to Ganesha, Sūrya, Srichaitanya, Mahādeva, Chandi, Laksmi, Saraswati, Shukadeva, and again to Ganesha—this one running parallel to the first invocation. It is an extreme instance no doubt, but none the less a strong indication of the prevailing tendency. When we next dip into the volumes we find that there is something common in the plot and motive ; that somebody of divine origin—Indra's son or follower of Durgā—has been born as man or woman through some curse and at the expiry of the period of the curse his or her return to heaven is assured ; life on earth is but an episode, always with some definite object which is accomplished in the end, generally to spread the cult of that particular god or goddess who had been offended. This feature of the Mangal Kāvya is to be seen even in such a professedly worldly book as Vidyāsundar. At the very end of the book when Sundara went home with the bride Vidyā and paid meet adoration to the goddess Kālī, she appeared before him and said to the couple :

তোরা মোর দাসদাসী • শাপেতে ভুতলে আসি

আমার মঙ্গল প্রকাশিলা ।

• ভ্রত হইল পরকাশ

এবে চল স্বর্গবাসি

নানামত আমারে তুষিলা ॥

Then, at the end or sometimes in the beginning of a poem, there are informations about the family and lineage of the poet and it all concludes with a prayer for the well-being of the poet and his descendants :

শিবরাম বংশধর

কৃপা কর মহেশ্বর

রক্ষ পুত্রে পৌত্রে ত্রিনয়ান ।—কবিকঙ্কণ চণ্ডীমঙ্গল ।

The metaphysical portion is an occasional feature ; it dwells on how the world was evolved or rather created out of the primal elements ; it treats of the Ādideva and the Ādidevī, mahat, ahaṃkāra, pañchabhūta, and so on till in the Chandimangal (Kavikankan), we get to Dakṣa and his abusing Shiva and the consequent rout of his party. The impulse to write in verse is a divine call ; the poet feels ignorant and shy and then there is a vision and in the vision he receives commands, *e.g.*, in the Annadāmangal :

অন্নপূর্ণা ভারতেরে রজনীর শেষে ।

স্বপন কহিলা মাতা তার মাতৃবেশে ॥

..... ।

মোর ইচ্ছা গীতে তুমি তোষহ আমারে ॥

অন্নদা কহিল বাছা না করিহ ভয় ।

আমার কৃপার বলে বোবা কথা কয় ॥

গ্রন্থ স্মারন্তিয়া মোর কৃপা সাক্ষী পাবে ।

যে কবে সে হবে গীত আনন্দে শিখাবে ॥

এত বলি অন্নতাহ মুখে তুলি দিলা ।

সেই বলে এই গীত ভারত রচিলা ॥

Thus we find that in the invocation, in the outline or plot of the story, in the motive, in the cosmogony, even in the poet's calling, the note of piety and religion is to be heard clear and unmistakable, compelling attention in spite of the realistic elements in the books.

As the religious tenets were mostly composed in Sanskrit, it is no wonder that the *influence of the classical language* should make itself felt in the vernacular. The fact of the case warrants more than this, due partly to the presence of excellent literary models in the older language. For the most part the mediæval literature grew up under the fostering care and genial influence of Sanskrit. How many of the books are translations, if not literal then of the thought contained in Sanskrit books! Even if we except the Rāmāyaṇa and the Mahābhārata what about the numerous translations or amplifications of verses from the Bhāgavata? Shrikrishnavilāsa, Shrikrishnavijaya, Shrikrishnamangal (by Mādhavāchāryya), Govindamangal (Kavichandra), Krisnamangal (Jiban Chakravarti)—enumerated by Pandit Amulya Vidyābhusan in his preface to Shrikrishnavilāsa (publication No. 65 of the Bangiya Sahitya-Parisat)—are merely a few names to reckon with; some again take their plot from Sanskrit story books, e.g., Mrigalubdha Sambād by Rāma Rāja—preface, page 5, or Mrigalubdha by Dwija Ratideva—preface, page 3—“মৃগলুব্ধের গল্পটি কোন সংস্কৃত গ্রন্থের প্রতিচ্ছায়া মাত্র।”

The Vaisnava poets contribute in no small degree to the excellence of the literary output but many of their *padas* are striking examples of the rhetorical definitions contained in well-known Sanskrit books on Alamkāra. Such terms as *খণ্ডিতা ধীর মধ্যা*, *খণ্ডিতা অধীরা মধ্যা*, *খণ্ডিতা ধীরাধীরা মধ্যা*, *কলহাস্তুরিতা* etc., have been amply illustrated in their various shades of meaning and setting, regularly and thoroughly, as in a Sanskrit treatise on rhetorical devices. Mediæval Bengali writers turned to Sanskrit for source and inspiration, used Sanskrit mottoes and there are frequent reminiscences or echoes of classical phrases. In the Krisnakirtana, for example, we find two or four lines of Sanskrit verse set in here and there to add a point or embellish, though with doubtful effect and though there is very little variety in such lines. Sometimes the tendency ran to extremes, resulting in forced contributions. Shri Shri Chaitanya Charitāmrita by Krisnadāsa Kavirāj begins with a string of fifteen verses or

slokas composed in Sanskrit and the first few chapters are fully employed in elucidating and explaining them. The learned author quotes freely from all classes of books—the references are all given by him—the Bhāgavata, Shridhara Swami's commentary thereto,—Bramhasaṃhitā, Ekādashitattwa, Vidagdhamādhava, Gītā, Bhāvārthadīpikā, Bhaktirasāmritasindhu, Ujjwalañīlamanī, Visnupurāṇa, Vrihad Gautamiya-tantra, Govinda-Līlāmrita, Lalitamādhava and many others. The very plan is Sanskritic, *e.g.*, on page 2, Bangabāsi Edition, we get

সে মঙ্গলাচরণ হয় ত্রিবিধ প্রকার ।

বস্তুনির্দেশ, আশীর্বাদ, নমস্কার ॥

This is in strict conformity with the practice in Sanskrit books, and the principle enunciated here is a Bengali rendering of the statement, too well-known to require repetition, in Sanskrit. Thus we find that the stamp of Sanskrit on the Vernacular literature is clear and unmistakable. All things considered, this influence has proved a helpful asset to the cause of the Vernacular.

May not the *comparative lack of prose* in old and mediæval Bengali be traced to the influence of Sanskrit where also prose works are disproportionately few ? It is true no doubt that in the *pada-rasa-sāra* of Nīlānanda Dās we get prose *padas* along with verses (see *Sāhitya-Parisat-Patrikā* for 1321 B.S.); in the *Sūnyapurāṇa* we have here and there lines in prose serving as links ; in this connection it will not be out of place to say that such insertions of short fragments of prose were to be found also in popular Sanskrit works like the Mahābhārata and were in vogue in Indo-Iraian times, and are also to be found in the hymns of the Rig-Veda, in the verse scriptures of the Buddhists as well as in the Gāthās of the Pārsis. Prof. Meillet in his lecture on the composition of the Gāthās delivered in 1925 at the Upsala University remarked on this feature of the literature of the times and suggested an explanation : “ The Buddhist

style of composition, prose for explanations, verse for all that is suggestive and all that is to be pronounced with clearness, distinctness and force, is not an isolated thing in the Indo-European world. It is an antique usage which is found again and again.' Some Sahajiyā works were written in prose ; in his Introduction to the study of the Post-Chaitanya Sahajiyā Cult (Calcutta University, 1927), Mr. Manindramohan Bose has given a valuable bibliography of Sahajiyā literature. Of the 79 books named and described therein, 14 are in prose ; *e.g.*, Guṇātmikā, Chandidāser Chaitya-Rūpa-Prāpti, Upāsanā-patala, etc. It should be noted here that all these Sahajiyā books that have been considered by Mr. Bose were prosaic in their theme, being concerned with philosophical, theological or ritual matter, and were Post-Chaitanya in date ; this fact should help to bring in the right perspective and then it would appear how few in proportion these Sahajiyā prose works were. This establishes more firmly than ever that the prevailing form was verse, not prose, in old and mediæval Bengali as well as in other literature in their old and mediæval stages.

All literatures are in their earliest stage musical, spontaneous, without any consciousness of literature as such. They have no idea of their own growth. The historical sense has not grown yet in that stage. Hence criticism has always been but a late growth of the literary faculty. In English literature we come upon criticism of a most rudimentary sort only in the 16th century, and not earlier, the previous works do not deal with any literary development. Bengali is no exception to this general state of things and it does not attain to the self-reflecting or critical stage before it has come under Western influence and stood before various literary models other than its own. There is a considerable amount of descriptive, narrative, biographical and even theological writings in the 18th century and before, but not critical. It had not then come to a position from which it might view itself as literature, pure and simple. The conception of a history of literature or of what

may be termed literary growth or development was unknown to it and consideration of literary movements would have been an impossible task. It may be suggested that its religious nature, disposed to lean on authorities, had partly stood in the way of the growth of this critical faculty. This does by no means overlook the faculty of criticism, which makes itself evident in the selection, compilation and preparation of the *padas* of various poets in the hands of scribes and individual men of letters. But that amounts to saying that the critical faculty is never wholly absent for long in any literature and it does not explain away the absence of works of literary criticism in the language. It might be that here also Sanskrit works of a cognate nature, still holding the ground for their thoroughness and subtlety in the grasp of the principles of literary criticism did not allow this want to be felt much. In this connection we have also to admit that the invocations prefacing the works of the poets in general and addressed to their predecessors in the art reveal a certain amount of historical and critical sense. When all this is said, the fact remains that comparatively speaking, the Bengali literature even so late as the first half of the nineteenth century was deficient in works of literary criticism, historically tracing the growth of the Bengali literature or any part of it, discussing any particular work or any individual author, or dealing with the philosophical treatment of literature in general.

Old and mediæval Bengali seems to have been considered inferior to Sanskrit, Arabic or even Persian, which were languages of culture and means for the higher classes. Prakrita or Parakrita is the term applied to the vernacular, in the sense that it was meant for the "common folk. This presents a parallel to the case in Europe where also Latin was the honoured language and the vernaculars were relegated to a secondary place. Even now the trammels of classicism and of the influence of classical literature are hard to shake off in certain parts of Europe. Hence all religious reformers, specially those who sought to create a new faith, looked to

the vernacular for propaganda purpose, and it was long before it could claim equal attention with the classical language. Thus each religious movement in Bengal synchronised with a period of literary activity in the vernacular tongue. The contact with the Western literatures widened the outlook still further, though it must be confessed with a brief spell of enchantment when it was thought the proper thing even to dream in English, but at last the Bengali literature has been invested with an importance which it lacked before.

In contrast to the Sanskritic domination but united to the main currents of old and mediæval Bengali literature in language, in sentiment and in method of composition stands out the folk-literature, the ballad literature of the country, which sings of the weal and woe of the people—their freedom in the choice of their mates, the oppression of the poor by the rich, the intense devotion of the wife for the husband, the sudden conversion of wicked men through contact with a person of saintly character. This ballad literature has not been very thoroughly explored as yet, but judging by the Mymensingh Ballads which might serve for a specimen, or even considering these ballads by themselves as forming a distinct branch of Bengali literature, we are entitled to form some idea of its nature. While speaking of the Sanskritic influence on the literature of Bengal in the pre-British days, it is but reasonable to point out that there is thus the possibility of a vast literature in the country almost entirely free from it and originating in the spontaneous impulse of natural, born poets to sing in verse the remarkable occurrences of the locality in which they have been born and bred.

However we might thus try to point out the general characteristics of the Bengali literature, it is still impossible to point definitely to its essence. The community which could sometime in its career evolve a new system of logic, a new system of social jurisprudence, a new doctrine of philosophy,

a new aspect of the Vaisnava faith, could hardly fail to be critical in its outlook, though few were the occasions when that critical spirit did express itself in literature. How did the Bengali literature of those days reflect the Bengali spirit as an expression of the Bengali community? The answer is yet to come—from the future student who would study the Bengali literature in close relation to the group of people speaking the language. Meanwhile we have to admit our inability and to guide ourselves in our study by the light of the general characteristics referred to above.

Coming close to the period just before Western influence began to act, if we review the century just preceding the period of Western influence, we find that as we leave the 18th century behind us we feel the presence in the literary region of a certain spirit of decadence though there is much brilliance in it. The acknowledged master is Bharatchandra, the prince of those who have perfect control over the machinery of words, in whose hands the words sway and tremble but the theme reveals the decadent nature within ; only the corruptions of the society are treated of as fit subjects for representation. There was again a period of glory for Nabadwip,—in the construction of the temples in the finances in the state, in the prosperity of the clay-modelling industries and in the textile industries alike. And the Bengali muse is busy rolling out verses descriptive of the physical charms of beautiful maidens. The fault lay in having recourse to exaggerated description so much so that sometimes the wood was apt to be lost in the trees and the charms heaped upon one another failed to create life, to present a vivid impression of the beautiful person who was intended to be depicted. Poets vied with one another in dressing out the story of Vidyā and Sundara. Even the Sanskrit poets themselves were restrained in the use of similies, but their disciples writing in the vernacular wanted to improve upon them and laid the brush thick so as to smudge the picture. The literature of the period mainly consisted in the courtly poetry breathed in

the atmosphere of the Nabadwip Court and translated into writing by Bhāratchandra (1712—1760), though the lightness of his touch and some of his other excellences—his literary tricks, as it were—shine in many of the lightsome, briskly moving verses of the Kabiwallas who stretch even beyond the middle of the nineteenth century. Books like the Gangā-bhaktitarāṅgini or the Harililā were written away from the bustle of the court life, in the quiet of the far-off villages. Kālikrisna Dāsa (author of the Kāmini-kumāra) and Rasikachandra Rāy (author of the Jibantārā) were powerful followers of Bhāratchandra in the literary art, which filtered down to Kabiwallas like Rām Basu, Ramdulāl, Antony Feringee, Gopāl Oriya, and the Pāñchālīs of Dāsu Rāy, whose life (1804-67) extends far into the period when Western influence has begun to act. Bengali literature can boast of much good poetry composed in these days but the achievement was more in the direction of better mechanism, a freer language rather than anything else ; but even the over-ornamented stories of illicit love may be regarded as distinct advances towards secularisation, however disguised by a religious purpose. The songs of Rāmaprasād, of Nidhu Babu (1741-1834) and of Haru Thākur (1738-1813), point to a period of literary activity of some sort in which the lyric muse winged its flight with little or no impediment, though puns were the favourite figure of speech resorted to.

From what has been said above it will be easy to understand that the Bengali literature suffered from some great limitations in its subject-matter, its spirit, no less than in its style of writing—in literary form. The fostering care of religion, the influence of the classical Sanskrit literature, the total absence of works of literary criticism, the practical absence of works of prose,—all these go far to support this statement about its limitation. The comparative decadence in the latter half of the 18th century was due to two reasons : There was a temporary dearth—a lull—of imagination, puns and alliterations

were favourite resources, sometimes they formed the entire stock-in-trade of an aspirant after poetic fame. Again, politically the country was in a tumult and things were unsettled, and no work of any worth had therefore been composed. But this, after all, is a doubtful theory—for political unrest sometimes affects literature, sometimes it does not, and until we find out the reason for the temporary dearth of imagination, we arrive at no reasonable explanation. The decadence is, however, a fact and we have to accept it.

At this stage of the literature, it had to come in contact with Western models and Western ideas. The vernacular literature had come across an apparently inexhaustible treasure-house which it could safely draw upon at will with great profit to itself. The poverty of themes and technique was to be removed by the accession of strange wealth, though—who knows?—there might have been some development at least, independent of any extraneous or foreign influence. Whether this foreign influence has been at all for good has been questioned by some critics of to-day who boldly maintain that Western influence has not resulted in any permanent contribution to the literature of Bengal ; that old and mediæval Bengali literature, appealing directly to the heart of people and reflecting the spirit of the nation, was more deeply rooted on the soil. How far this extreme view may be maintained deserves to be carefully considered.

PRIYARANJAN SEN

THE CONVOCATION ADDRESS OF THE UNIVERSITY
OF MYSORE, BY C. R. REDDY ESQ., M.A. (CANTAB.),
VICE-CHANCELLOR, ANDHRA UNIVERSITY

GRADUATES,

University Organisation

Speech is or should be action. The action in which I am now engaged with the generous co-operation of the Andhra academic authorities is University Organisation. And I am further impelled to deal with this subject by the irresistible attraction of the grand educational reconstruction adopted within the last two years by Mysore under the guidance of your famous Vice-Chancellor. It is one of the biggest achievements in Indian educational history; and it is bound to influence other Universities in no small degree.

I have read again and again the great speech in which Sir Brajendranath Seal introduced the new scheme in the Senate explaining its scope and how it was correlated with the psychology of our people and the needs of Mysore. It is a document in which constructive educational schemes have been thought out in every part and detail in terms of our life and conditions. To praise Sir Brajendranath Seal must sound like impertinence on my part. But that will not deter me from saying that in my humble judgment his speech deserves to rank with the greatest documents of our educational history.

Favourable Situation in Mysore

In relation to University Organisation Mysore has been exceptionally fortunate in at least two respects. You have a

teaching University with a stable staff, immune from mercurial fluctuations of function and locality. And your Government is anxious to operate it in the closest possible co-ordination with its other departments of State, such as Industries, Railways, Public Works, Commerce, Banking and all the range of its administration and economic enterprises. The University is not regarded as an interloper, and having created a University, they have not left it at a foundlings' hospital as their highest act of statesmanship, and liberally consigned it to thrive on private charity. No wonder then that in its organisation on the side of substantial education and the amplitude of its activities, the Mysore University is advancing and extending with a speed and momentum that breaks my heart with envy, though as an old Mysorean I allow my humanity to prevail and rejoice unboundedly. Many faculties have been added, still more are in the process of being added; provision has been made at the different grades for vocational, industrial, technical and technological training and education; archæology and history have been brought together under one roof; the critical and scientific study of Oriental Cultures and Indology have been provided for; the Entrance and First-Year Examinations have been abolished to my entire, though belated, satisfaction; and in every way justice has been done to the essentials of an oecumenical University—which is my word for Dr. Seal's International—without neglecting regional needs.

The Oecumenical and Regional Types

But indeed I fail to see how the two types could be entirely separated and whether there are two types at all anywhere instead of a composite one everywhere. Perhaps it is a difference of degree and not of kind. Regional elements may be found at Oxford itself, let alone Cambridge. The medium of education is English—a regional language; they don't neglect English History and Politics, and since the War, Applied Sciences are

receiving increasing attention. Nor is Leeds, which on all accounts rendered the largest amount of national service during the Great War, without its elements of universality. Its woollen, leather and printing departments attract students from all parts of the world. The present Superintendent of your Government Press underwent, I believe, much of his training in Leeds. Even Applied Science is science and there cannot be a particular which does not imply a universal.

The State in Relation to the University

But the regional idea is of inestimable value in India from another and more practical aspect. It suggests with compendious clearness the relations that ought to subsist between the State and the University. No adaptation of a University to regional requirements is possible, unless Government, which is the largest employer of labour in India, actively encourages and promotes such an adaptation and is willing to use the University as its chief depot for supplying the human power required in all its departments and enterprises, as is done by every nation-state in the world. Government would then not merely help to lessen educated unemployment but would provide itself with an adequate motive for financing the University in order to enable it to maintain the highest world standards in all its departments and advance in the van of discovery and invention. When its own graduates are not wanted and overlooked, how is progress, material or moral, possible? Electrical, Railway, Mining, Marine and other forms of Engineering, etc., ought to be cultivated in India and to the highest degree possible, but then the State should not starve its own men in the name of an efficiency that it will not promote. Nor will throwing open this place or that place with fractional, niggardly hand meet the needs of University Organisation. We cannot organise courses for one man or two. We must admit as many as we can, consistently with efficiency of teaching and practical works ;

otherwise the facilities in Professors and Laboratories that we provide will not be utilised to the full. Let me quote what I said on another occasion, as I consider this point to be one of the vital elements of the regional idea :—

“National efficiency would require the organisation of Engineering and other technological courses. But even here Government policy is a big factor, and Government may either accelerate or retard progress by the manner in which it provides openings in its technical departments for our qualified people. Still, the University can do its duty. As regards the argument that Government can't provide places for every one, I consider it to be sound as far as it goes. But surely Government can do much to promote industry and commerce, and is itself the biggest industrial factor in India, and therefore its action is decisive even as regards the development of commerce and industry by private enterprise and the openings thus made available for Indians. Government need not *create* places for our qualified men ; if it fills such places as there are with them, that will suffice.

“What I wish to emphasise is that Education and University are inextricably mixed up with society on the one hand and Government on the other, and cannot be regarded as factors which can function and produce results in isolation and abstraction.”

University Autonomy

Though thus the State should foster the University by providing adequate careers within the extent possible in its organisation and by the general development of the country as well as adequate funds, it should not convert either by law or administrative or financial pressure the University into a department of the State.

All the world over collegiate and higher education is organised almost without exception by Universities, though

most of the modern Universities depend almost entirely on Government for their support. To create a University and then to treat it as a body to be either starved or enslaved appears to me to be what Euclid so eloquently styles "*reductio ad absurdum*." The reason why Universities are financed by the State and allowed the fullest autonomy is that world experience extending over centuries has proved conclusively that such an agency is better fitted to carry out the mission of higher culture and research than a department of the State. The finest academic growths are not possible under the shadow of bureaucratic authority. As Lord Bryce put it :—

"Freedom is the life-blood of University teaching. Neither the political opinions of a professor, nor the character of the economic doctrines which he holds and propagates ought to be a ground for appointing or dismissing him, nor ought he to be any less free to speak and vote as he pleases than any other citizen. And though it is right and fitting that the State should be represented in the governing authority of a University which it supports, experience seems to have proved that both the educational policy and the daily administration and discipline of a University ought, as far as possible, to be either left in academic hands or entrusted to an authority on which the academic element predominates."

Lord Balfour speaking more recently thus declared :—

"If the State be asked to subscribe great funds, either in this country or in any of the Dominions or indeed in any country, there will always be a natural and pardonable instinct on the part of the State to control and supervise the working of an institution which it is doing so much to support. *It is perfectly natural but it is extremely dangerous.* Cambridge, Oxford and the old Universities are receiving assistance from the State, but our University traditions are so

deeply rooted that I do not think there is any symptom, as far as my judgment goes, of any Government attempting to interfere with the University. *University autonomy, whether it be well exercised or ill exercised, is at all events at the worst far better than State control.*" (The Italics are mine.)

I notice that in Mysore the Senate has been engaged in an invasion of the Syndicate and I wish the expedition every success. I hope the day is not far distant when the University staff will be omitted from the Civil List as being out of place.

The psychology of some of our Governments is at times baffling. They can't trust local bodies with power because there are not enough educated members on them. They won't trust the Universities because they have none but educated persons on them. The only category they confide in, is the Secretariat, which not infrequently functions in an atmosphere of transcendental authority mightily elevated above the reach of reason and criticism. If consistently benevolent and uniformly wise, bureaucratic absolutism may possibly make a people fat but it can never make them strong. And the weakness of the people is bound to result sooner or later in government debility.

But the transformation of the Mysore University into an autonomous corporation does not appear to me to be a simple process. It would involve a revision of the constitution in many respects including the system of elections now in vogue. As a way out of the dilemmas presented by the opposing considerations of liberty and prudence including the necessity for securing a predominant position to the academic element, a more complex and balanced type of constitution like the one originally recommended by some of us when the University was being founded, may, after all, have to be adopted with the changes shown to be necessary by subsequent experience.

Andhra Autonomy

If Mysore excels in educational content the Andhra University may legitimately claim to have the better academic form, thanks to the generous statesmanship of the last Ministry and the Legislative Council. It is easily and by far the most autonomous corporation of its kind in India. Only two are nominated, and that too by the Chancellor—which in practice is a real distinction from the Governor—to the Syndicate. And the nominations to the Senate do not exceed twelve, and these again are made by the Chancellor. The University has full control of educational regulation and all appointments in the University are entirely within the competence of the University authorities. If only this outburst of confidence in the Andhra genius to administer a University had been accompanied by an equally magnanimous financial confidence in its capacity to spend economically and efficiently by the adoption of the system of block grants and by the transfer of Government Colleges as contemplated in the Act, so that the Teaching University intended by Government might be realised, the Andhras too would have attempted constructive educational policies. But the headquarters problem blocks the way.

The Vernacular Medium

It is with no small hesitation and nervousness that I venture to remark that the very essence of the regional idea is education as far as possible through the vernacular. I don't belittle the importance of the oecumenical or international ideal. I dismiss the oecumenical as impossible of achievement in this respect, because there is as yet no universal language. And the international presupposes that we should be a nation first and take part in world-exchanges of thought and culture as an equal.

Thus both the international and the regional ideas involve instruction through Kannada.

Mysore here again is fortunate to a degree that will not be possible in British India until provinces are reconstituted on a linguistic basis. Mysore is almost unitary in its language, for the Telugu that you have in your Eastern districts is twin sister to Kannada with indistinguishable lineaments. Nor is there any need or necessity for having an official language different from the people's. But we lack self-confidence on this subject. In theory we all agree that it is easier to master and spread knowledge by employing a natural instead of a foreign medium. But we are afraid of impairing the estimation in which our educational efficiency is held by others. It seems so easy to borrow the ready-made clothing of Europe : so difficult to produce the raiment ourselves. We seem to lack the imaginative power to view things in the growth. And we are obsessed by the possible discount to which our degrees would be subjected. As regards researches and original work, nobody holds that their value would depend on how excellently they are narrated in English or French ; and when our Universities put forth a sufficient amount of higher work, the credit that they will thereby achieve will extend to all the degrees they confer. But I don't wish to say more on the theory of vernacularisation, which has been discussed threadbare. Only one observation may be repeated. That it need not produce a lowering in the standard of English and that every care should be taken that English is properly and adequately studied as a language. With this caution I don't see why we should not vernacularise to the utmost possible extent immediately. The Calcutta University Commission was of opinion that up to the Matriculation standard all subjects except English and Mathematics should be taught in the vernacular ; and this recommendation has, I believe, been widely adopted. Since then vernaculars have made a fair amount of progress and it should not be beyond the capacity

of an expert committee to determine what subjects in the Intermediate grade could be taught in the vernacular. Instead of vernacularisation by grades, may we not begin vernacularisation on a subject basis? May not Indian History, for instance, be taught in Kannada, from the lowest up to the B.A. and M.A. standards?

... Lack of text books is no doubt a difficulty, but men are more important than books. If the proper lecturers are forthcoming, the lectures will be forthcoming, and the books will automatically follow. Professors at Oxford and Cambridge, have a working knowledge of a number of European languages, and they are able to base their lectures on world contributions to their line of study. In the same manner those who lecture in Kannada in the University grades might be required to possess a sufficiently good knowledge of English and perhaps one other language, for them to be able to consult with advantage authoritative books written in those languages. The methods of teaching and training prevalent in the great Universities of the West proceed on the view that the mind is a vital growth to be fostered and strengthened and not an emptiness to be mechanically stuffed. They concentrate on the development of faculty and acquisition of knowledge and not on the attainment of a tongue.

In fairness to the Andhra academic authorities, who are considering this question, I must say that these are my personal opinions which it would be my duty to change if convincing arguments to the contrary are forthcoming. Further, there are some special complications which have to be taken into due account in the Andhra area, namely, correlation with competitive examinations and service conditions and the existence of other vernaculars.

Women's Education

The regional idea can't receive its fullest application unless it includes women within its scope. And in view of the very

early age at which girls are withdrawn from schools and bundled into matrimony, I don't see how the maximum amount of knowledge could be imparted unless the vernacular medium is employed, even allowing for the natural and superior sharpness of their tongues. If one of the objects of an educational system is to broadcast existing knowledge, to carry it to every household including those in the remotest villages and irrigate our darkness by channels of light, and if it is further conceded that in the conditions in which they are placed, the imparting of the maximum of knowledge in the minimum of time to girls is possible only under the regime of the mother tongue, it is a matter for consideration whether India should decide for a differentiation of her media of instruction on a sex basis, making English the medium for boys and the vernacular the medium for girls!

Women's education deserves to be remodelled. There should be no compulsion in the matter, and women wanting to take the general courses prescribed for the boys should be at perfect liberty to do so. But it is a mistake to think that the best possible intellectual training could not be given to women in ways better adapted to their general mode and mission in life.

During my second European tour Sir Arthur Smithells of Leeds University drew my attention to the King's College for Women, which provides a three year course in Household and Social Sciences of a collegiate grade, and qualifies for a degree in the London University; the degree, mind you, which ought to reassure ladies who want to become Bachelors! The art of household regulation requires a knowledge and application of a large number of sciences, Physics, Physiology, Chemistry, Biology, Economics, and certain portions of law, to mention a few.

Household Science is a field still to be organized and explored in India. Mrs. Sidney Webb once remarked to me that we were the most unhygienic nation in regard to food.

The poor have little to eat and the rich don't know what to eat and how to prepare or preserve it—too much ghee, too much sugar, too much spices too ill-assorted and ill-conditioned food, diabetes, and an early break-up of health and strength—that has been the routine of Hindu existence.

There is a vast literature on the values of the foods that Europeans consume. Indian foods remain to be scientifically investigated.

A woman is also an administrator and domestic economist. She must be able to prepare her domestic budgets with intelligence and forethought.

In India the widow is too often a helpless dependent and victim of her male relations with no idea of her rights and the laws pertaining to inheritance, division of property, etc., and incapable of defending her interests. Now that political rights are being conferred on women, her development as person and citizen has to be given due consideration in our curricula. To rescue our sisters from their condition of helpless dependence is a mission that educated India ought no longer to delay.

The State in Relation to Women

The organisation of the State in relation to women's interests and advancement should be planned out boldly and comprehensively. And I know of no State in India that is likely to take up this task in real earnestness and carry it to a chivalrous success, excepting Mysore. A survey should be made of the number of child welfare centres, women's hospitals, primary and middle schools with proper provision for vocational training, institutes for imparting a knowledge of household sciences, cottage industries, hygiene, nursing, etc., to the grown up women, and on that basis the necessary educational and administrative staff and other provisions should be made. Administrative arrangements with special reference to women's needs and progress have not been sufficiently developed in our

country. And when developed, they will absorb all the women power that could be produced from our schools and colleges. And they will be absorbed too in ways more natural and healthful to themselves and to society than has been the case till now with the one-sided education they have been getting—an education which does not fit in with the scheme of life of the vast majority of women.

I am deeply impressed by the methodical manner in which the Missionaries as at Hassan and other centres are not merely imparting book knowledge but building up morale and civilisation amongst the lowest of our social orders and raising them to the status of efficient, self-respecting humanity. If education and government are conceived in some such broad spirit, as charged with the mission of building up life and civilisation, the importance of a systematic organisation of the State in relation to women will be easily understood.

Women's Enfranchisement

But women's enfranchisement depends ultimately on two factors, the abolition of early marriages and the granting to them of equal property rights with men. So long as she remains an economic outcast with no property rights in the parental home and nothing more nourishing of body and mind than a maintenance allowance in the husband's, she can never realise her essential humanity. And where woman is not allowed to be fully human, the mentality of society is bound to be, in some degree at least, inhuman. Give her the cash and she will obtain the credit for herself!

Control of Technical Education

Not infrequently doubts are expressed whether the Vice-Chancellor and the Director of Public Instruction are the best authorities to be entrusted with the management of vocational,

industrial, technical and technological institutions that are now generally conceded as being within the scope of the composite, full-blooded modern educational organisations. I am in favour of keeping them within the purview of the Vice-Chancellor and the Director of Public Instruction. For this reason, management by the Vice-Chancellor in effect means management by the Syndicate on which technical authorities are bound to be represented, and appropriate Faculties and Boards of Studies. Nobody proposes that the Medical College and the Engineering College should be taken out of the jurisdiction of the University.

As regards the Director of Public Instruction, what with the large number of technical and sectional assistants with whom he has been provided, his administration has in fact become administration by a Board of Education. This machinery may be improved by including on the Board representatives of the technical departments of the State. That co-operation and correlation between the Railway, Industries and other departments and the educational administration is desirable and necessary, nobody will dispute. In the principle of the Board system of administration, which ought to be diligently explored, some way may be found for bringing about more expressly that co-ordination. All things considered, it seems best not to remove industrial and technical education from the highway of the State's educational organisation and consign them to departmental blind alleys, which would impair their popularity and efficiency.

Medical Colleges and the University

As regards medical education, the following extract from the report of Sir Norman Walker and Colonel Needham is evidence of the superiority of a University organisation with its fixed staff of specialists over Government organisation with a floating and miscellaneous staff.

Speaking of the Madras Medical College and Hospitals they say, "The staffs of the College and the Hospitals are provided from the Madras Medical Department ; the system is unsatisfactory ; it restricts the field of recruitment, and in practice involves too frequent changes in the staffs."

Speaking of the Vizagapatam Medical College they say, "The training in clinical medicine has been seriously prejudiced by frequent changes in the post of Professors of Medicine..... The facilities for training in the special departments have not been developed."

The General Medical Council while dissatisfied with the old state of affairs, appears to be still more apprehensive of inefficiency resulting as a consequence of the Indianisation of the I. M. S. and the appointment of more Indians as Professors in the Medical Colleges. It would seem to any fair-minded enquirer that the real sin consists not in the nationality of the teacher but in the defective organisation, perhaps inevitable, under Government management. This aspect has been dealt with in the reply to Sir Norman Walker's criticisms prepared by the Medical Faculty of the Bombay University. They cast the blame on the Governmental system and append statistical tables to prove their point. Not a few men seem to have been appointed as Professors while yet of twenty-six years of age or under. And not a few of the Professors had held as many as six Professorships before they retired. Even in the period between 1900-1910 there have been instances of I.M.S. officers who have held six, five and four Professorships respectively. Pluralism in Professorships seems to have been the rule. Even some of the younger men who were appointed in the period of 1910-1927 as Professors have already held as many as three Professorships; and at this rate before they retire they are likely to box the entire compass of the Medical Chairs going. The Bombay Medical Faculty comments as follows: "When a vacancy arose in one of these Chairs a man had to be found, from amongst the service men,

regardless of the fact that none may be available who had special training to fit him for the appointment." The example quoted by Sir Norman on page 5 of Appendix XV "where the fact that a man had passed the primary examination for the F.R.C.S., England, ten years before was regarded as sufficient proof of his capacity to act as Professor of Physiology" emphasises the fact that this practice still obtains in Colleges where the teaching staff has to be found from the service. Such mutations, (or is it mimeries?) are to be met with in the field of the Indian Educational Service also, though not to anything like the same extent.

It is impossible to deny that there is some point in Sir Norman Walker's pessimistic outlook. Defective as the old arrangements had been, Indianisation without regard to the right system of recruitment and management, may not improbably result in a graver situation. The saving grace is not to be found either in Indianisation as such or in Europeanisation as such or any other type or variety of racialisation such as Mysoreanisation, but if I may venture to say so, in direct University management of medical education which will guarantee a specialist and stable staff with every incentive to keep up their studies and engage in research. And paradoxical as it may sound, some Governments are inclined to adopt University principles without University management.

In the United Provinces, Government have handed over their Medical College at Lucknow to the University, one result of which has been the spiriting away of one of the ablest of your medical men, Dr. Acharya, from your midst. Other Governments are organizing in response to the criticism of the General Medical Council Bodies of specialists for their Medical Colleges. That is to say, while they will not trust the Universities, they will become Universities themselves: Is this a case of imitation being the sincerest form of flattery or one of stealing their robes while Universities are still slumbering over their rights?

Once disentanglement from the Services is decided upon and the organisation of a specialist corps adopted in principle, there can be no rational ground for refusing to take the more natural and efficient step of making these colleges integral parts of a teaching University. Let me not be misunderstood. I am deeply grateful to the Services and the organisations that I would like to see supplanted, for the eminent way in which they helped our country in the past and brought her up to a state at which further developments have become inevitable. But gratitude should not be allowed to obstruct duty.

Technological Colleges and the University

The moral of this is applicable to other technological institutions also. That is why in the Andhra University Act express provision has been made for establishing all the technological institutions to be organised in the future under the direct control and management of the University, of course, with the aid of Government funds.

If it is wisdom to start all future technical colleges under the immediate auspices of the University, can it be folly to transfer the existing ones to the self-same management? One can't follow easily the logic of this hesitation or rather unwillingness. Apparently Universities can be trusted to do the following: to formulate syllabuses; to inspect and ascertain if the teaching is up to standard; to hold examinations and to grant degrees. But Universities may not be trusted to appoint the proper teachers and manage institutions; I mean Universities in India, for Universities abroad are of course absolutely trustworthy. If direct University management is held to be less efficient, then would it not be better for the departments to award their own diplomas instead of making it incumbent on their students to seek effete University degrees?

The Essence of a University

Desirable as all these reforms are and necessary, the essence of a University remains to-day what it has always been, namely, a corporation of teachers and taught, a spiritual and cultural entity pursuing knowledge for its own sake, extending the boundaries of Science and Art and functioning as one of the source powers for increasing humanity's hold on the good, the true and the beautiful. It is this creative spirit that distinguishes a University from the merely distributive function of High Schools. Where that creative spirit is lacking, where it is not conserved and promoted by proper organisation and the necessary institutions and facilities inspired by teachers of genius, there we can have nothing more than a Continuation High School.

Sir Asutosh Mookerjee

No one can deal with this, the very soul of University organisation, without invoking to his aid the spirit of Sir Asutosh Mookerjee, the pioneer genius who introduced genuine University education in India. Until he established his Post-Graduate College under direct University management, there were in the true sense of the term neither Universities nor Colleges. Our Universities were more examining and affiliating Boards; our Colleges glorified High Schools.

Young men fresh from Oxford and Cambridge selected on the lax and false test of their College record were started off as Professors, put in charge of responsible University work, were provided with careers for life and then by sheer force of sumptuous seniority exalted to the headship of departments. No wonder that, as Dr. C. V. Raman has remarked, in most of our Universities, Honours and Post-Graduate courses proved a failure. Even the syllabuses and curricula were not up to date. In many cases they did not represent to any extent growth from within

the University but were mechanical importations from the curricula of Western Universities, scissors and paste work! Universities that introduced the distinction between the Pass and Honours Courses were hardly able to maintain that distinction in actual work. Occasionally they tried to enliven the spirit of local teaching by getting a foreign Professor touring in India to deliver a few lectures. If a candidate submitted a thesis for the Doctorate Degree, it had to be exported for adjudication to foreign lands. Even some of our teaching Universities have not come up to standard in their staffing arrangements. They are trying the speculative expedient of sending out brilliant graduates—gold medallists I suppose, though some one or other is bound to get a gold medal every year—to England, and this educational pilgrimage for a foreign degree suffices to make them Professors for the rest of their lives. Such is the system of outdoor relief of our pauperism in organisation that many of our Universities are not only content to live on but flaunt before an ironical world as symptoms of the high efficiency from which they are suffering. Until the patriotic genius of Sir Asutosh Mookerjee struck the note, the elementary idea of introducing in our Universities conditions of life and work and staffing, which are the routine of the organisation of successful Western Universities, did not suggest itself to the rulers in India, though Gokhale as a member of the Royal Commission on the Public Services had with his usual power of constructive criticism hinted at the rightful measures. Sir Asutosh had to found his limited but genuine University, so famous to-day all the world over as the Post-Graduate College in Calcutta, on the slender basis of private benefactions though Governmental moneys were never lacking for uneconomical diversions and projects. The old Calcutta University could not be transformed into a real University. Asutosh's College had therefore to be made a Post-Graduate institution, something superimposed on the University and not so much as the University itself.

Sir Asutosh's example has not been without a following. Lucknow and Allahabad have reconstituted themselves as Universities true to type. The Andhra Desa is in the throes of a similar labour, but the agony has been too prolonged.

Principles of Staffing

If Colleges are regarded as continuation High Schools, in which what is aimed at is detailed lecturing, the pumping of copious information, digested into notes, into the minds of students, preparing them for examinations, mass production of graduates qualifying for nothing more inspiring than clerical jobs, the Professors too would be recruited on the same principle as High School teachers. They would be chosen merely on their College record and appointed for life. They would be given graded appointments on the assumption that the older they grew the more efficient they became, and there would be talk of graduates of ten years' standing and twenty years' standing, though very often it is a case more of stooping than of standing, as though intellects mature by sheer process of time, like wine in wood.

It was with a view to prevent the miscarriage of the objectives of University education that the following recommendations, which have served as the basis of the staffing scheme now adopted, were made by the Andhra University Committee so early as 1921 :—

“The University should be manned by Professors of high standing who would be able to stimulate the character and intellects of the students and inspire them to enquiry, research and propaganda.

“In the Honours and Post-Graduate courses students should be more guided than taught and they should be made, as far as possible, to discover knowledge for themselves rather than have it crammed into them by notes and text books.

“ It is desirable that Professors should be appointed for a period of ten years but subject to eligibility for re-election. But if the limitation of the term to such a period cannot secure the proper type of Professors, *it would be better to make the conditions of service more attractive as by higher salaries, etc ; than to abrogate the principle of limited tenure.*

“ Where specialists have to be employed, the best men should be secured irrespective of nationality, though other things being about equal, preference should be given to Indians, and in the case of such specialists the University should pay whatever sum is necessary to get their services.”

The actual scheme adopted in principle by the Andhra academic authorities is as follows :—

(1) University appointments should not be made on the basis of the College record of the applicants but on the basis of their original work and research.

(2) Nor should they be on life tenure but on a limited tenure of five to seven years according to the nature of the subject, but with eligibility for re-appointment. (This was one of Gokhale's main points.)

This means, of course, that only specialists should be appointed, the educational consequence of which is that the courses should become more diversified and greater choice given to students to specialise. Optional courses should be enormously increased, the result being small classes, less lecturing, the students being left to work for themselves under general guidance, mental and moral development of the students to a greater extent than is possible under the system of detailed lecturing and mass production of graduates, and hopeful preparation for genuine intellectual life.

(3) As at Lucknow, the Syndicate may, for special reasons, appoint a Professor on special terms.

There will be no Assistant Professors and the word Assistant connoting some kind of personal subordination to a

superior has been abolished from the Andhra classification. Professors, Readers, etc., will have their own spheres of work, arranged by the Faculties and all will have enough leisure to pursue their researches and satisfy their moral craving for name and fame. Even though there may be differences in material conditions, there ought not to be any in the fellowship that should prevail. The Vice-Chancellor himself should function as a brotherly elder without assumption of superior authority or superior wisdom. Nothing is so destructive of the integrity of University life as the mandarinism of mediocrities, breeding jealousies, producing an atmosphere of self-centered calculations, and breaking up comradeship. With a genuine University staff, segregated from the Civil List and intent on high-souled pursuits, this will not happen, but a fraternal spirit will prevail.

In Western Universities, Professors not uncommonly lecture sometimes only one hour a week but never more than three to four hours a week and they lecture on the subjects of their own research and not necessarily on examination topics. These latter are attended to by the Lecturers and Readers but even they are not so heavily worked as High School teachers, because, since all are appointed on account of their original work, they must be given time and scope for carrying on their researches as otherwise it would result in a criminal waste of talent. There should be far less lecturing in our Colleges and great many more Lecturers to do that less lecturing!

The way to Lecturerships, Readerships and Professorships must be prepared by a large scheme of Fellowships. The most brilliant men, men with clear promise of originality, should be made Fellows on an adequate allowance, say Rs. 150 a month, the allowance adopted in the Andhra University, so that they may be saved from the worry of creature necessities. The Fellowships should be tenable for a period of, say, three years and such of the Fellows as fulfil expectations should be drafted on to the teaching posts.

In the recruitment of the staff, merit should be the only consideration. Students should not be defrauded of their right to receive the best and most inspiring training under the plea of localism or communalism. A University organisation of this type would obviate the evil of what Sir P. C. Ray has called mass production of graduates and consequent unemployment of the educated. Once High School methods are discontinued at the College stage, students incapable of working according to University standards will drop out. Employment of specialists, diversified courses, increased options, smaller classes, self-help and self-reliance on the part of students, the joy of research work, the disinterested pursuit of knowledge, and daily contact with noble souls—all these go together, and they will help to obviate both mass production of graduates and sterile, insignificant careers. It is miseducation, not over-education, that has been the bane of the country.

I think the ideal University will in its form and constitution be as democratic and autonomous as the Andhra University and in the field of substantial work covered, an amalgam of the Calcutta Post-Graduate College and the Lucknow and Mysore Universities. Has not Sir Asutosh's College been a glorious success? Are not the Palit, Ghose, Hardinge, King George V and other Professorships a world-asset to-day, and if the Calcutta College could succeed in producing such an amazing amount of research in every branch of learning, why should any one doubt the success of an institution of the kind imagined here—it may be a dream to-day but I trust it will be a reality soon—thus organized and having a wider range of activities?

Even a crore of rupees is not the limit of useful expenditure on a University. Our governments are not spending on their Universities a tenth of what they should—not even Mysore.

Lord Goschen on the Ideal of the Andhra University

His Excellency the Chancellor of the Andhra University in laying down his policy thus expressed himself in his inspiring

address to the last Andhra Convocation, an address which has been hailed as the Magna Charta of the University :—

• “The ideal that we have set before us is the development, not of a University in the sense of a brick and mortar structure, but a University community—a large and mutually stimulating and inspiring community of Professors with an assured standing for creative output, and Researchers and Scholars. It is only by evolving such a community that we should be contributing our solution or rather the academic factor in the solution of the problem of building up a healthy, strong, well-balanced judgment and character in the youth of our country.”

Ah, if only institutional reality could soon be given to these noble aspirations !

Character and College

If the youth of our country are lacking in judgment, will and character, it is to some extent because of the defective nature of the education they receive at the University. We prolong their boyhood from High School to College and then we wonder that they don't grow up into manhood but remains boys with all the attractions and weaknesses of boyhood. At one moment they would be going about as though they were possessed of all knowledge and could bring about the instantaneous salvation of India if only their way was not barred by their elders, whose wisdom and experience they treat as naught. To such I can only repeat the scornful admonition of the old moralist, who was apparently thinking of graduates in their academic caps, “Remember thou art a chicken just hatched with the shell still on thy head.” Anon these same graduates, at the first icy touch of life's sharp realities will be seen going about or rather drifting about with helpless look and hopeless outlook beseeching people to advise them as to what they should do. They know how to prepare themselves for examinations but the series of examinations having ended, they do not know what to do

with themselves. If there were examinations and parental financial assistance till they reached 55 years of age, when they could retire on a pension, that would be near to their notion of an earthly paradise. If the intellectual and social discipline—I hope they have had both—connoted by a four-years' University career has not helped them to find their bearings in life, has not given them judgment, taste and will sufficient to enable them to determine their careers, no Convocation Address could avail to save such ineffectual craft from foundering miserably. This is one reason why I have avoided the tone of moral exhortation customary on these occasions. I am tired of the annual letting off of idealistic fire-works in the Convocation sky and sentimental adoration of the departed glories of Nalanda, Takshasila and Amaravati. The Hindu mind revels in mythcraft; and once you are departed, you can safely reckon on becoming a glory! It is the duty of those that are not amply confident of building a big future to reverse their attention and create a glorious past; and this duty we have always fulfilled to our entire and exclusive satisfaction.

Our True Task

The true task before us is to bring these ideals down to earth and give them body, shape and functioning power in organisation, institution, and administration. True, their working can never be automatic—either fool-proof or knave-proof—and must depend on character and personality. However much we may give institutional regulation to our moral aspirations, there is always an elusive soul beyond the reach of analytical grasp and administrative envisagement which can be felt only by intuition; a mystic surd, racial and individual, which cannot be resolved into rational factors but which is the source of all power and vital virtue, the grace and salvation of life. Where that soul is lacking, institutions like bodies will decay. The recent history of India shows that the soul of our people is not dead but alive and capable of expressing itself in

spite of the debris and disabilities heaped upon it by ages of disastrous history. Whoever would have thought that Sir Asutosh's College entirely staffed by Indians would in a decade produce such an astonishing amount of original work, astonishing alike in volume and quality and prove an acquisition to world-culture ? " United like word and meaning, " like beautiful word and soulful meaning, that pregnant phrase of Kalidas aptly describes the happy conjunction needed for realising the fullness of life. The power of thought is there in our countrymen ; the soul, imperishable, sublime ; only the instrumentality of institutions is lacking. It is for the rulers and leaders of India not to be content with sentimentalising over ideals and providing merely verbal incentives to lofty conduct but to bestir themselves with vigorous and honest purpose to the task of establishing the requisite secular conditions and organisations. Then would our spiritual revival be assured and abundant.

Mr. Vice-Chancellor, Let me conclude by conveying to you and the Mysore University the greetings of the Andhra University and wishing the graduates assembled here useful and happy careers.

POEMS OF INDIA

(SECOND GROUP)

I. The Hindu Bride

Yesterday, I played with my coloured toys,
 A child, laughing with children in the sun ;
 But they say that I am a woman now
 And must wed and learn a woman's joys.
 Soon must I leave my father and mother—
 (They have given me jewels, and a *Sari*
 Of silk, and perfumes of sandal-wood paste—)
 To go live in the home of another.
 His hut of palm-thatch is ready for me,
 And chains of marigold entwine his door ;
 His brass pots are all polished and shining,
 The wedding-feast waits for the bride-to-be.
 My stranger bridegroom is drawing near,
 (Hark to the drums and the flute-songs coming !)
 Lord of fortune, *Sri Ganesh*, hear my prayer
 Grant joy to me, for I tremble with fear !
 I am but a little maiden, who played
 But yesterday so joyously with toys,
 Timid and young and ignorant of love,
Kama guide me, for I am sore dismayed !

II. Lullaby

Chota baba, could I keep thee
 Ever thus within my arms,
 I would shelter thee, my birdling,
 From the world and its alarms.

But alas, my jasmine-flower,
Thou must blossom in the sun
And be gathered by a stranger,
Ere thy womanhood's begun.
Krishna smile on thee, Beloved,
Keep thee innocent and fair,
Grant thy beauty still may blossom,
And thy heart know not despair.
For the sun of India withers
All too soon such blooms as thou,
I would keep thee ever safely,
If my Gods would show me how.

III. *Contentment*

A mud and palm-thatched hut beside a lotus-pool
Where tall palms lean ; a truant breeze that wanders by
And brings the breath of fragrant blossoms on the air ;
A woman and a cooking-pot, and promises
Of curry spiced and hot ; a man at ease tapping
A drum and singing bits of song ; brown naked babies
About his feet, laughing with glee at a monkey
That sits on the roof of the hut with the gourd-vines ;
A mongrel dog or two ; a bullock munching food—
Reward of honest toil in paddy-fields, compose
• A little world, full and complete, with all that life
Can give of riches, love, content and happiness.

IV. *Lament*

There he lies, my man, all silent
On the *charpai* where he wooed me
In the moonlight, singing songs
Of *Krishna* and his many loves ;

Where he played upon his reed-flute,
Beating rhythms on his drum,
Or slept so quietly 'til dawn
Called him to work in paddy-fields
And labour through the hours of sun.
Nevermore will I hear his voice,
Never see his stalwart form
Coming home to us at sun-set
When the toil of day is done.
Never will our children hear him
Laughing, merrily and free.
On the *charpai* where he wooed me,
Goes he now forth silently
To the burning-ghat at evening
On that last reluctant journey.
As the flames that light his pyre
Burn to ashes all his body,
So the fire of death consumes me,
And my heart turns ashes too.

V. *Funeral Procession*

Beat of hand-drums, hollow clash of cymbals
And the minor cadences of flutes, mark
The rhythm of slow feet going towards the
Burning-ghat. Four men hold aloft a bier
Where lies a body stark beneath its cloth
Of mocking red ; the mourning wail falls on
The unresponsive air ; scents of fading
Flowers, and dusty pall that settles down
Again on the white road, follows the small
Procession. Soon they will reach the river's
Edge, and on a pyre will lie a silent
Form consumed with flames, whose ashes will be

Tossed into the waters of the brown and
Heedless river where yesterday the dead
Was living flesh, and bathed, or poled a boat,
Singing and drifting with the tide as he
Gathered the gleaming fish. To-day he goes
To join the silt on the river-bottom.

VI. *Song of the Burning-Ghat*

Laugh in the sun, my children,
Play as fleet the hours away ;
Sing your little songs, my children,
I wait for you at the end of day.

Love your little loves, my children,
Flowers fade and smiles turn tears ;
Live your little lives, my children,
You'll come to me, ere many years !

Work and play to-day, my children,
Play upon your little flute ;
Sing your songs to-day, my children,
On my still breast all lips are mute !

Rajahs, coolies, caste and outcast,
Young and old, the bond and free,
Meet no favour at the long last
When they come to rest with me !

LILY S. ANDERSON

CATEGORIES OF SOCIETAL SPECULATION IN EUR-AMERICA WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO ECONOMICS AND POLITICS.

FROM HERDER TO SOROKIN (1776-1928).

CHAPTER III

THE BIRTH OF MODERN SOCIOLOGY (1870-1905).

(a) *General Theories of Progress*

Ideology: (1) Sociology is established as an independent science ; (2) impact of biology, anthropology, eugenics, psychology and criminology on political categories ; (3) the dogma of "white man's burden" and of "colonialism" ; (4) chauvinistic messages of "Orientalists."

1870. **Maine** (1822-1888) : *Ancient Law, Early History of Institutions* (1875), *Village Communities* (1876). Patriarchal organization is the earliest form in social life. Progress consists in change from status to contract. His investigations bearing on comparative anthropology and historical jurisprudence combat the "general will" of **Rousseau** and the "utility" of the analytical jurists. He is too cautious regarding democratic slogans.

1875-78. **Schaeffle** : *Bau und Leben des sozialen Koerpers* (Structure and Life of the Social Body). He develops the analogy between human and animal societies. To him the family is the social unit. He considers "social legislation" to be a necessity and he is an inspirer of **Bismarck** in "state socialism." Society is not a higher organism but different from animal and vegetable organisms. The same laws however govern them all. The state represents the central organs of social will and power. Neither absolute centralization nor absolute decentralization is the normal political condition.

Hierarchy of offices and representative bodies is inevitable. The goal of political evolution is democracy.

• 1876-78. **Lombroso**, Italian: *L'Uomo delinquente* (The Criminal Man) ; **Ferri** : *Sociologie Criminelle* (Criminal Sociology), 1881. **Garofalo** : *La Criminologie* (Criminology), 1885.

Their investigations establish the "positive" as contrasted with the "metaphysical" school of criminology. This school, also known as the Italian school, has made of criminology a "science of positive observation, which supporting itself upon anthropology, psychology, criminal statistics, as upon penal law and penological studies becomes the synthetic science which I myself have called criminal sociology," as says **Ferri**. Positive criminology propose to bring into the science of offences the life-giving breath of the latest discoveries made by the science of man, revived by the doctrines of evolutionism, the researches of Darwin on the variations obtained in the raising of domestic animals and the observations made by Haeckel in embryology.

This new school—evolutionist, scientific, exact, naturalistic—attempts to revolt against the classical school. The most representative exposition of that school is to be found in *Dei delitti e delle pene* (Crimes and Punishments) 1764, by the Italian philosopher **Beccaria** (1735-1794), whom **Tarde** in *La Philosophie Penale* (1890) describes as a "child of our (French) eighteenth century" and in whom are reflected and concentrated all its sentimental philanthropy, unaffected optimism and excessive individualism, and humanitarian enthusiasm. Beccaria's ideology, *a priori* as it is, formulates two doctrines : (1) man's will is free, and (2) man is born good and becomes criminal under circumstances, but may be corrected. In this philosophy the treatment of the criminal is to be determined by the crime committed and not by the nature of the criminal. •

According to the positivists, on the contrary, the delinquent is not a man of some description at all but a physiological as well as a psychological anomaly of human nature. And as for the offence it is a natural and necessary phenomenon

which has its physical, anthropological and social causes and cannot be neutralized except to a very slight extent by the fear of punishment, however severe it may be. The "positive" school is thus consciously pessimistic. Education, says Lombroso in *Crime : Its Causes and Remedies*, ought not to be extended to inmates of prisons. Elementary education is positively harmful as applied to the ordinary criminal ; it places in his hands an additional weapon for carrying on his crimes and makes a recedivist of him. The introduction of schools into the prison explains the great number of educated recedivists. To instruct the criminal means to perfect him in evil.

Many of the fundamental doctrines of the positive school have been challenged by Tarde, Aschaffenburg, Parmelee and others, who, however, generally agree with it in denouncing the free will postulate of the Beccaria, the Rousseau and Adam Smith, so to say, of their science.

1876. **Spencer** (1820-1903) : *Principles of Sociology, The Man vs. The State* (1884). He presents a most elaborate formulation of the "organismic" theory of the society and state. The state is an organism with limited functions : war and contract. The industrial state, the state of contract, will replace the war-state. Natural rights, individual freedom, limitation of authority furnish the ultimate goal of evolution. "Specialized administration," the one function of the state, would consist in negative regulation, *i.e.*, doing hardly anything.

1877. **Morgan**, American : *Ancient Society*. He combats **Maine's** thesis *re* patriarchal origin. According to him primitive social organization is marked by chaotic sexual promiscuity. "Group-marriage" develops into the "clan" with its matriarchy. The "gens" with patriarchy represents the next stage. The "village community and the family appear later. Finally, the territorial state arises to assimilate the "outsiders" (non-tribesmen). He establishes a unilinear evolutionary anthropology—the deterministic anthropology with its inevitable cultural stages.

1883. **Gumplowicz** (1838-1909) : *Der Rassenkampf* (Struggle of Races). He studies the relation of groups and laws of group-action. In his analysis society creates the individual. The state of nature is a state of war. Progress is achieved through group-conflicts. All government is the rule of a minority representing the leaders in wars of conquest over the majority, the conquered. The origin of the middle class is due to trade and industry. All-trade is a mode of exploitation. There is no progress and there is nothing essentially new in the realm of mental knowledge. Our cognitions respecting virtue, custom, happiness, etc., are no more mature than those of the oldest peoples of antiquity. Sociology lays the foundation for the morals reasonable resignation. Fundamental pessimism is the keynote of his thought. Compare and contrast **Oppenheimer**, 1914.

1884. **Engels** (1820-95) : *Der Ursprung der Familie, des Privateigentums und des Staates* (Origin of Family, Private Property and State). He furnishes the "economic interpretation" of the anthropological material furnished by **Morgan** in *Ancient Society* (1877). This book exhibits the application of the "laws of stages" to the data of Greek, Roman, Celtic and Teutonic "pre-history." It is almost a joint work of **Marx** and **Engels**.¹

1886. **Wundt** (1832-1920) : *Ethik*. The psychical world is continually growing and is characterized by a creative synthesis. Acts of the will go beyond original impulses and create "new values." Hence the objective world of morality is manifest in the social evolution from primitive to developed forms. According to him there is no such thing as the "folk-soul" or "social mind" apart from the minds of the individuals in the group.²

Merz's History of European Thought in the Nineteenth Century, Vol. IV ("Of the good" and "Of society").

¹ Available in Bengali as *Parivar Gosthi o Rastra* (Sarkar), Calcutta 1926.

² Hall : *Founders of Modern Psychology* (Zeller, Lotze, Fechner, Hartmann, Helmholtz Wundt).

1886. **Toennies**: *Gemeinschaft und Gesellschaft* (Community and Society). He distinguishes between two opposite types or forms of groups, namely, "society" and "community." His interpretation of industrial revolution, capitalism, urbanization, etc., is **Marxian** but is marked by an appreciation of medieval, pre-industrial rural life. He is influenced by **Gierke** in regard to pro-medievalism, but exhibits antipathy to Gierke's guilds and other medieval corporations, because these "group-persons" are "artificial." He has appreciation only for "natural" group-persons. Natural *vs.* artificial groups are "communities" *vs.* "societies." Community is private, personal, intimate, whereas society is public, external, business-like. "Society" is the product of egoism as embodied in Roman law or of individualism and freedom of competition as characteristic of *Smithianismus* or classical economics. According to Toennies the state is the institution of the dominant "social" class. As every *Kultur* (culture) degenerates into "civilisation" (*cf.* **Spengler's** *Der Untergang des Abendlandes*, *Decline of the West*, 1920), so also does community into society in all ages.³

1886. **Fouillee** (1838-1912): *La science sociale contemporaine* (Contemporary social science). Society is a contractual organism. Physiologically every individual is a society and every society an individual. Society is higher than natural organism because men can will the whole of which they form parts, the state in which they live. Society does not possess psychological individuality. There is no social self-consciousness. The individual is the only *psyche*, *i.e.*, subject of society. The biological view of society is one-sided. Ideas are active or propelling forces (*Idees-forces*).

1886-1889. **De Greef** (1842-), Belgian: *Introduction a la sociologie* (Introduction to Sociology). Progress is achieved

³ For Bimmel, Toennies, Vierkapdt and Weber see Rumpf: "*von rein-formaler zur typologisch-empirischer Soziologie*" (From purely formal to typologico-empirical Sociology) in *Schollers Jahrbuch*, Leipzig, 1924.

through consent and contractual relations. States advance from the stage of despotic authority to voluntary contract. Voluntary consent replaces force and physical conflict. . He is interested in the promotion of international relations and elimination of war, and believes in world federation. The doctrine of absolute sovereignty is incompatible with international interdependence, treaties and conventions. The social frontiers are the resultants of a continual but changing equilibration between the internal molecular composition of each social group on the one hand, and of the external and equally molecular composition of the groups, on the other. A reciprocal limitation is manifest in the inter-group equilibrium.⁴

1886. **Tarde** (1843-1904): *La criminalite comparee* (1886), *La philosophie penale* (1890), *Les lois de l'imitation* (1890). Every individual is under social control or coercion, but the "social" consists in the inter-cerebral realation of *two* individuals. He establishes the laws of imitation, opposition and adaptation. Progress is brought about by inventions and their imitation (expansion and diffusion). On the subject of crime and war Tarde's ideas are noteworthy. He says that war exerts a moral influence and tends to diminish crime. "An army is a gigantic means of carrying out, by massacre and pillage on a vast scale, the collective designs of hatred, vengeance, envy which one nation stirs up against another. Condemned under their individual form, these odious passions, cruelty and greed, seem to be praiseworthy under their collective form."

• . . He discovers crime in all professions. From the out and out criminal to the most honest merchant we pass through a series of transitions,—the cheating tradesman, the adulterating grocer, etc. Among the upper classes people reputed to be honest are committing extortions and making doubtful bargains.⁵

* Barnes: *Sociology and Political Theory*, New York, 1924.

* Tarde's works are available in English as follows:—*Laws of Imitation* (transl. Parsons), New York, 1903; *Social Laws* (transl. Warren), New York, 1907; *Penal Philosophy* (transl. Howell), Boston, 1912.

1889. **Galton** (1822-1911): *Natural Inheritance, Hereditary Genius* (1869), *Inquiries into Human Faculty* (1883). His work is characterised by the application of statistical method to biological data. He finds that human nature is very flexible and varies according to classes and epochs. Heredity is a powerful factor in these human variabilities. As eugenicist, he establishes the "selective" part played by organic traits: He believes in the possibility of "improving the human breed." He is a founder (cf. **Weismann**) of the theory of "germinal continuity,"—like begetting like,—because of the persistence of a specific organization. He advocates the segregation and intermarriage of the intellectuals and suggests late marriage in the case of the weak and early marriage in the case of the strong. The world belongs to the race that marries at twenty-two instead of at thirty-three. He makes propaganda for "birth control" in the sense of increasing the better types and decreasing the worse.

1889. **Cognetti de Martiis**, Italian: *Socialismo Antico* (Ancient Socialism), to a certain extent supplement to *Le Forme primitive nella evoluzione economica* (Primitive forms in economic evolution, 1881.) He is interested in the economic interpretation of anthropological phenomena (on the lines more or less of **Engels's** *Family, Property and State*). The present work is a comparative study of social utopias in Greece, Rome, Persia, China and India and exhibits the democratic and frater-nitarian ideas in Buddhism and Vaishnavism.⁶

1893. **Ward** (1841-1913), American: *Psychic Factors of Civilisation, Dynamic Sociology* (1883). He is a statalist, and believe in the magic of education and scientific knowledge. In his works we are presented with the demonstration of the paramount necessity for the equal and universal distribution of the extant knowledge of the world. The environment transforms the animal, while man transforms the enviroment.

⁶ Barker: "Hindu Politics in Italian" in the *Indian Historical Quarterly*, 1925-1926.

1893. **Novicow** (1849-1912), Russian : *Les luttres entre societes humaines : et leurs phases successives* (Conflicts between human societies and their successive phases), *La federation de l'Europe* (1901). War is not a biological necessity (as maintained by **Gumprowicz**). The Darwinian struggle for existence for the survival of the fittest does not hold good in human relations. He is a prophet of pacifism and internationalism and preaches the cultural autonomy for national groups, political federation of the European states and abolition of war. The European national state represses subject nationalities. The claim of the state to absolute and unlimited sovereignty is an obstacle to effective international organization. The state should function as a collective policeman. He is a champion of individualism—almost Spencerian,—verging on anarchism.

1895. **Durkheim** (1858-1917) : *Les regles de la methode sociologique* (Rules of Sociological Method), *De la division du travail social* (Division of social labour), 1893. Social homogeneity precedes heterogeneity and creates it because of (i) the struggle for existence, and (ii) the division of labour. At first there is no individual but a common consciousness, social representations and institutions dominating the individual. He propounds the idea of professional groups or associations. In his criminology intensity of punishment increases according as the society is less elevated and as the central power is more absolute. Restraint on personal liberty (i.e., imprisonment) for varying periods according to the gravity of the crime is becoming the normal type of punishment.

1896. **Le Bon** (1841—) : *Le Psychologie des foules* (The Psychology of the Crowd), *La Psychologie politique et la defense nationale* (Political Psychology and National Defence), 1910.

Our conscious acts are the outcome of an unconscious substratum created in the mind in the main by hereditary influences, says he. The greater part of our daily actions are the results

of hidden motives which escape our observation. The individual forming part of a *foule* (crowd or group) differs from the isolated individual. He is no longer himself but has become an automaton who has ceased to be guided by his will. Merely numerical considerations, contagion of a hypnotic order, and suggestibility of which contagion is an effect are the three factors that operate in this transformation. Isolated, the individual may be a cultivated person; but in the *foule* he is a barbarian, a creature acting by instinct. The mind of the *foule* is identical with that of primitive man. A lower standard of intelligence and truth is the one followed by the crowd. It behaves as an obedient herd and would submit to anybody who appoints himself its master.

1896. **Lapouge**: *Les Selections Sociales* (Social Selections). He is opposed to "social legislation" as a *pucca* eugenicist. Aryanism is his race-cult.

1896. **Westermarck** (1862-): *History of Human Marriage*. He opposes **Morgan's** hypothesis of primitive sexual promiscuity and believes that the clan or gens comes later than the family in social evolution.

1896. **Giddings** (1855-): *Principles of Sociology, Democracy and Empire* (1900). He exhibits the biological evolution of social will. "Consciousness of kind" is the leading subjective item in the human constitution. He is one of the imperialists of America. "Unless the whole course of history is meaningless for the future there is to be no cessation of war—of extra-group competition—until vast empires embrace all nations." This is his verdict. Only where the democratic empire has compassed the uttermost parts of the world will there be that perfect understanding among men which is necessary for the growth of moral kinship.

1898. **Kidd** (1858-1916): *Control of the Tropics, Social Evolution* (1894). Imperialism and colonial expansion are the means of propagating "higher culture." "If we

look to the native social systems of the tropical East, the primitive savagery of Central Africa, to the West Indian Islands in the past in process of being assisted into the position of modern states by Great Britain, or the black republic of Hyati in the present, or to modern Liberia in the future, the lesson everywhere seems the same: it is that there will be no development of the resources of the tropics under native government."

1898. **Ratzenhofer** (1842-1904): *Die sociologische Erkenntniss* (Sociological Knowledge), *Sociologie* (published posthumously 1908). Like **Gumpowicz** Ratzenhofer believes in the struggle of races as underlying the origin of society. Like G. again, he considers the process of the cross-fertilization of cultures to consist in: (1) the subjugation of one race by another, (2) the origin of caste, (3) the gradual mitigation of this condition leaving a state of great individual, social and political inequality, (4) substitution for purely military subjugation a form of law, (5) origin of the state under which all classes have both rights and duties, (6) the cementing of the mass of heterogeneous elements into a more or less homogeneous people, and (7) the rise of the sentiment of patriotism and formation of a nation. He does not, like G., take a special interest in the relations between groups. To him the chief theme is the group-making process, the essence of group-solidarity. He studies more the *reciprocal relations* of human beings than as G. does the *inter-group* phenomena. He is interested not so much in ethnology like G. as in biological and psychological data. The origin of all inter-relations is to be found in the "blood-bond." Absolute hostility is the psychical guardian over the continuance of a community of interests. The state originates in subjugation by rulers. Propagation, sustentation and exploitation are the *causes*; war, culture and commerce the *means*, and harmonious satisfaction of interests the *end* of social development. The *Urkraft* (original energy) in the creative process is a psychic entity known as "interests."

These interests are racial, physiological, individual, social and transcendental. He considers the individual to be more important than the group.⁷

1904. **Ross** (1866-), American: *Social Control*. Social psychology deals with the psychic interplay between man and his environing society. Social ascendancy consists in domination of the individual by the society. Individual ascendancy implies the reverse and involves invention, leadership, rôle of great men, etc. Social ascendancy may be (a) mere social influence implied in custom, public opinion, fashion, mob mind, etc., or (b) social control, i.e., the conscious and deliberate transformation of individual by the society. Ross analyzes the extent to which order is the making of individual personality and discusses also the contributions of the social surroundings to the same product. "Suggestion, education and publicity, the choice instruments of the new *folk-craft* will be used in the future perhaps even more freely and consciously than they now are." Kinship has lost its old secret significance. Social erosion has worn down the family. Everywhere we see the local group, the parish, the commune, the neighbourhood or village decaying. The better adaptation of men to one another is brought about by the improvement of the apparatus of social control. The goal of social development is better adaptation.

(b) Racial Dogmatism

1883. **Seeley**: *Expansion of England*. The exposition is chauvinistic.

1890. **Burgess**: *Political Science and Comparative Constitutional Law*. He is an American expansionist.

1895. **Ammon**: *Die Gesellschaftsordnung und ihre natuerliche Grundlagen* (Social order and its natural foundations).

⁷ Ward: *Pure Sociology*, New York, 1908. Jacobs: *German Sociology*, New York 1909. Lichtenberger: *Development of Social Theory*, London, 1924.

The concentration of dolichocephals (long-heads) in the city is one of his laws.

1899. **Chamberlain** (English-born, domiciled in Germany): *Grundlagen des 19. Jahrhundertz.* (Foundations of the Nineteenth Century). Teutonism is his race-cult.

1900. **Cramb**: *Origins and Destiny of Imperial Britain* is another chauvinistic contribution to historical literature.

1901. **Sergi** (1841-): *The Mediterranean Race* demolishes the doctrine of the so-called Aryan races.⁸

(c) *East and West*

1870-76. **Maine** (1822-1888): *Ancient Law, Early History of Institutions* (1875), *Village Communities* (1876). All Oriental communities have been despotisms, and the commands of the despots at their head, harsh and cruel as they might be, have always been implicitly obeyed. These commands, save in so far as they served to organise administrative machinery for the collection of revenue, have not been true laws. The one solvent of local and domestic usage has not been the command of the sovereign but the supposed command of the deity.

1880. **Janet**: *Histoire de la science politique*. The Orient in general and India in particular never realized the idea of the state. The state appears for the first time in Europe and on Greek soil.

1883. **Max Mueller**: *India what can it Teach Us?* This book is a Bible of chauvinism and race-dogmatism to all those Westerns who for one reason or another have to take interest in India and the East. In it is concentrated the conventional philosophy of civilisation that the logic of the "white man's burden" has found it reasonable to propagate through philologists and mythologists. He is to a great extent responsible for the absurdities and non-sensical ideas that have become

⁸ See the summaries of Ammon, Chamberlain and other race chauvinists in Hankins's *Racial Basis of Civilization*, New York, 1926.

ingrained in the consciousness of Orientalists and, through them, of sociologists, culture-historians, philosophers and statesmen in regard to the alleged absence of manly, energistic, rationalizing, political, and economic features in Hindu civilisation and history. His work has helped *orientalisme*, indology and the study of things Asian to function as a handmaid to the purposes of Western colonialists and Empire-builders in the East—by furnishing them with a gospel as to the alleged disqualifications of the Orientals (Indians) for economic energism and political self-assertion.

He expatiates on quietism, pacifism, etc., as the exclusive and dominant characteristics of India and on that basis makes out a distinction between the Indian and European types of civilization, thus : “ At first sight we may feel inclined to call this quiet enjoyment of life, this mere looking on, a degeneracy rather than a growth. It seems so different from what *we* think life ought to be. Yet from a higher point of view it may appear that these Southern Aryans have chosen *the good part, or at least the part good for them*, while we Northern Aryans have been careful and troubled about many things.” He suggests a hemispheriodal classification of race-characteristics : “ It is at all events a problem worth considering whether, as there is in nature a south and a north, there are not two hemispheres also in human nature,—both worth developing,—the active, combative and political on one side, the passive, meditative and philosophical on the other; and for the solution of that problem no literature furnishes such ample materials as that of the Veda, beginning with the hymns and ending with the Upanishads. We enter into a new world—*not always an attractive one, least of all to us. We are not called upon either to admire or to despise that ancient Vedic literature; we have simply to study and to try to understand it.*” (Italics ours.)

Secular virtues, materialistic joys and economic enterprises are considered by him to be the monopoly of the Europeans and he manages to discover the exact opposite among the Hindus.

Thus, "we all lead a fighting life; our highest ideal of life is a fighting life. We point with inward satisfaction to what we and our ancestors have achieved by hard work, in founding a family, or a business, a town or a state. We imagine we have made life on earth quite perfect. But the lesson which both Brahmans and Buddhists are never tired of teaching is that this life is but a journey from one village to another—and not a resting place."

He harps on the influences of climate on race-character and ignores the objective historical data while instituting comparison between ancient India and ancient Europe,—in fact he forgets the ancient and medieval conditions of Europe altogether and places India in a wrong sociological and cultural perspective by comparing it with "modern" Europe.

"If we turn our eyes to the East, and particularly to India, where life is, or at all events was, no very severe struggle, where the climate was mild, the soil fertile, where vegetable food in small quantities sufficed to keep the body in health and strength, where the simplest hut or cave in a forest was all the shelter required, and where social life never assumed the gigantic, monstrous proportions of a London or Paris, but fulfilled itself within the narrow boundaries of village communities—was it not, I say, natural there, or if you like, was it not *intended* there that another side of human nature should be developed—not the active, the combative, acquisitive, but the passive, the meditative and reflective?"*

1893. Flint: *History of the Philosophy of History*. The idea of progress is unknown in the Orient. The idea of humanity is undeveloped in Indian thought except in Buddhism.

* A challenge to this position on all fronts is offered in Sarkar's *Positive Background of Hindu Sociology*, Vol. I (Allahabad, 1914) and other writings down to *The Futurism of Young Asia* (Leipzig, 1922) which condemn the climatological, regionalistic, racialistic, and other such monistic and deterministic "interpretations" of civilization as erroneous in objective history and misleading in comparative chronology.

(d) *Mental and Moral Personality*

Ideology : (1) Neo-Hegelianism and Neo-Kantianism, (2) virtually a reproduction, under British and "modern" conditions, of the German standpoints of a generation ago, so far as political ideals are concerned.

1876. **Bradley :** *Ethical Studies* : "My station and its Duties" (cf. Hindu *swa-dharma* and Plato's "virtues"). The individual's self-realization is conceivable only in and through the social relations. His "station" in the state is the summation of his relations. The individual achieves his greatest growth when he fulfils his station in the state well.

1877-1889. **Caird's :** Works on Kant. Promote an "idealistic" atmosphere in British Philosophical Circles.

1879-80. **Green** (1836-82) : *Principles of Political Obligation, The English Commonwealth, Prolegomena to Ethics, Liberal Legislation and Freedom of Contract* (1881), *Introduction to Hume's Treatise of Human Nature* (1874),—in which the philosophies of Kant and Hegel are discussed. He is an exponent of individualism (Kantian). State intervention is to be an exception but to be admitted by all means (Mill). He is Rousseauesque in the conception of general will. War is not always right and is to be avoided. Compulsory education is to be enforced by the state. He defends the institution of property and inequality in wealth but desires a class of small proprietors tilling their own land. He would not admit the appropriation of "unearned increment" by the state. He believes in the manner of Gierke that the groups have certain inherent rights. Unlike Bosanquet he considers the state to be a member of the "universal brotherhood"—the larger group. His touchstone of liberty consists in the "removal of all obstructions to the free development of English citizens." Though the dream of an international court with authority resting on the consent of independent states is very far from realisation it is important to bear in mind that there is nothing

in the intrinsic nature of a system of independent states incompatible with it, but that on the contrary every advance in the organisation of mankind in states in the sense explained is a step towards it.¹⁰

1885. Nietzsche (1844-1900): *Als sprach Zarathustra* (Thus spake Zarathustra), *Goettendaemmerung* (Twilight of the Idols), 1888, *Der Antichrist* (Anti-Christ), 1888.

"I am not narrow enough for a system—and not ever for my system." "Everything goes, everything returns, eternally does the wheel of being roll. Everything dies, everything blossoms again, eternally does the year of being run its course. Everything breaks, everything is put together again, eternally does the house of being build itself anew. All things separate, all things greet one another again, eternally is the sway of being true."

"Beyond the ruling class loosed from all bonds live the highest men; and in the rulers they have their instruments."

"If things went according to my will it would be time to declare war on European morality and all that has grown out of it. We must demolish Europe's existing order of peoples and states."

"Also in the things of mind I wish war and oppositions; and more war than ever, more oppositions than ever."

"Everywhere, where slave mortality gets the upper hand language shows an inclination to bring the words 'good' and 'stupid' near together."

Nietzsche considers the Hindu *Manu* to be the propounder of an affirmative religion, the religion of the deification of power as contrasted with Christianity, the creed of the slave, the pariah, the chandala (*Will to Power*).

"The Law book of *Manu* is replete with noble values," says he, "it is filled with a filling of perfection, with a saying

¹⁰ See *The Memoir of Green in Nettleship's Works of T. H. Green*, Vol. III, London, 1900.

of yea to life. The sun shines upon the whole book. All those things which Christianity smothers with its bottomless vulgarity,—prostitution, woman, marriage,—are here treated with earnestness, with reverence, with love and confidence."

"Manu's words again are simple and dignified; virtue could hardly rely on her own strength alone. Really, it is only the fear of punishment that keeps men in their limits and leaves every one in peaceful possession of his own."

"Further, what Manu says is probably truer: we must conceive of all the states on our own frontier and their allies as being hostile and for the same reason we must consider all of their neighbours as being friendly to us."

1899. Bosanquet (-1923): *Philosophical Theory of the State*. In his conception the individual is absorbed in the state. He is 100 per cent. Hegelian. The state is not bound by ordinary ethics. The real will of each citizen is alone expressive of his true individuality. Now the real will is identical with the collective will. And since the general will is best realised in the state, obedience to the state is self-imposed and therefore free. "The state has no determinate function in a larger community, but is itself the supreme community, the guardian of a whole moral world." Hence no moral obligations to other states (contrast Green, *supra*). "The state is a complete idea of the realization of all human capacity" (see Hobhouse's attack in *The Metaphysical Theory of the State*, 1918). Altogether, Green is to Bosanquet what Kant is to Hege.

LIFE OF THE CELEBRATED SEVAGY

CHAPTER IX

The Great Mogol sends a stronger force against Sevagy.

The Governor of Surrate reported the above-mentioned incident to the great Mogol in a manner that when it was read and heard it seemed worse than it (actually) was. As the income of the Great Mogol derived from Surrate was excessive and the Governor had informed him that all was lost and the merchants were arranging for a change of place on account of the scant security of Surrate, he resolved to remedy everything by sending an army that would totally destroy Sevagy and detain the merchants. He ordered the remission of taxes for three years during which period nothing should be paid for import or export. This appeased and relieved all, for it was a very great favour [81] as the capital employed by those Gentios in trade is enormous. The wealth of these people is so great that when the Great Mogol sent for a loan of four millions to Baneane Duracandas Vorax he answered that His Majesty should name the coin, and the sum will immediately be paid in it. There are in Surrate the following coins: rupias, half and quarter (rupias) of gold, the same of silver. There are pagodes of gold and larins of silver and in all of these eight (coins) he offered to render and count four millions. What is still more surprising is that the major part of the Baneane's capital was (invested) at Surrate and this offer was made four years after the sack by Sevagy. Such was the accumulation and so considerable was the profit of those three years when no tax was paid. The Mogol usually repays these loans in the taxes and it is done with such punctuality that he gets for the mere asking whatever sums he wants, for the subjects deliver their purses in accordance with the degree of satisfaction that they get from the king. As to

the restoration of his power, it was necessary to oust Sevagy; as the two Generals excused themselves at [82], each other's (expense) the great Mogol ordered the retreat of the 180 thousand cavalry,—Sextaghan with his eighty and Jassomptissinga with his hundred were to return to the Court by different routes to avoid their differences. And to send a good natured commander to redeem his credit and to remedy the weakness and troubles of the past, he selected another King of the Rayaputos. He was also so powerful that from his own territories he could put into the field two hundred and fifty thousand cavalry. Besides all these, for reasons already explained, he had held from the Mogol a Jaguir for (an army of) seven thousand horse with which he was obliged to serve him. He was, moreover, the owner of that famous elephant called the Conqueror of Battles (*vencedor das batalhas*), for he defeated the valiant elephant of Daráxaeur, the eldest brother of the Mogol, to whom that battle gave the Crown and the Elephant gave the victory (that battle gave him the Crown and this Elephant won the victory for him). As this King was a great friend of his, he had on that occasion helped him with his person and with the above-mentioned elephant. This new General was called Magha Mirca Raya Jassinga but to save paper we shall always call him by the name of [83] Raya. He immediately set out furnished with four hundred thousand cavalry. When he arrived at Amadabad he sent to the two Generals the letters he brought from the Mogol for their departure and as soon as he learnt of their departure he moved forward to encamp at Punadar where Sevagy had sheltered himself. When he arrived there Sevagy could not help being frightened, for besides the four hundred thousand cavalry the number of men and animals that followed these armies can neither be credited nor ascertained. There went with it five hundred elephants, three million camels, two million oxen of burden, men of useless service and merchants without number. The first thing that Sevagy did was to tempt this General in the same way as he had done in the case of the

other. He sent him a large and very valuable present desiring his friendship. The Raya refused both and ordered to inform Sevagy that he had not come to receive his presents but to subdue him, and if he yielded in peace he would avoid many deaths, or he would make him yield by force. This resolution [84] perturbed Sevagy, for the General had not begun well for him, as the General soon showed him, for he immediately sent many men to occupy the whole of the northern slope of the hill, the only convenient part, all the rest being inaccessible. Here they entrenched themselves to be able to stay in, for the peril outside was great; with much toil they dug one trench after another towards the hill until through a number of them they arrived at the foot of the hill which rose straight above and where there was no room for trenches. There they stopped and informed the Raya how it was impossible to advance. He had brought with him a French engineer who assumed in these regions the title of the Coque of the Dutch. On this occasion the General ordered him to devise some subtle contrivance by his art. He directed that some strong and big bamboo ladders should be made. These ladders should be fixed at that place and chained with one another. At the place where they would reach by these means, they should dig an opening big enough to hold a large quantity of powder, for he wanted by means of that mine [85] to blow the mountain. But Sevagy did not wait for that eventuality and had already ordered to countermine, and when the mine was discovered, in order to avoid the delay of removing such a quantity of powder, he threw so much water into it that it was reduced to wet coal. The Raya had been already invited to see the explosion of the hill, but the occurrence expected by them became (a subject of) laughter and ridicule of the besieged.

They spoke of batteries, for the Raya had brought with him very heavy artilleries of such a calibre that each cannon was drawn by forty yokes of oxen, but they were of no use, for bombarding a fortress of this kind; it was not a handiwork

of men but of the author of nature (God) and also had foundations so (strongly) laid and fortified that they laughed at balls, wind and even the thunder bolts. The plain at the top where the men resided with the stars was more than half a league in breadth, provided with food for many years and the most copious water that after regaling men was precipitated through the hill to fertilise the plants with which it was [86] covered. Therefore neither the beseiged feared nor the besiegers expected that with all these advantages Sevagy would do something still more daring than self defence demanded. The following chapter will relate everything.

CHAPTER X

.Sevagy surrenders, and what happens afterwards.

The King Idalcao was a feudatory of the Great Mogol and paid him annually two millions Tipiquin Pagodes, each of which is worth three rupias being much smaller than that of Golconda which is worth five rupias. Besides this large tribute, the King was obliged to help the army, which the Mogol might send to the Decan, with ten thousand horse at his own cost to serve under the command of the Mogol general. In fact the King had assisted Sextaghan with the stipulated cavalry and was now (likewise) rendering assistance to the Raya. Before the arrival of this army against Sevagy, the King, however, had come to a settlement [87] that he would pay him thirty thousand pagodes every year as contribution to expenses, in return for which Sevagy should remain contented with what he had conquered from his kingdom and should not disturb his state but wage war against the Great Mogol only. Sevagy loyally observed these terms, for he was a man noted for his adherence to treaties. But as soon as Idalcao found the Mogol armies (in the Decan) he not only helped them with all promptitude but did not pay Sevagy anything. When two years passed without any payment Sevagy surmised (what was) the reason and regarded this conduct so seriously that he resolved to avenge it at any cost. He argued that as the Raya was never guided by self-interest he could not but be very pious and that so long as he could not have him in hand the latter would not cease to give him trouble. This consideration and the impulses of revenge led him to do what might have cost him dear and he went to surrender himself unconditionally to the generous courtesy of the Raya, without any other assurance but the presumption of high valour [88] which was free from ambition

and that his voluntary surrender would completely assure him of an impression on any generous heart. To execute his plan he set out from his famous hill of Punadar at six in the morning with one servant only, both without arms. In this way he entered the encampment and as everything was in the same order he passed through it without being observed by anyone. Then he arrived at the quarters of the Raya always distinguished by the large standard and told the porter that he wanted to speak to his master.

“Who should I say seeks him?”

“Say that Sevagy wants to see him.”

The porter, besides himself with terror, gave four jumps, that roused the other guards; Sevagy himself gave him his hand and heartened him saying that he should not be afraid, for he came in peace and so sought his master. At last, still trembling, and without knowing what he said, he gave the message to his master in such a way that he too was frightened and seizing a scymitar, got up and went out to shelter himself but being assured of what it was, returned to sit down and calmed himself. Then he gave his orders for Sevagy to enter. While this happened the porters came [89] and went. Sevagy took off the sash that encircled his waist and ordered his servant to fasten his hands with it, and in this manner entered the presence of the Raya and the guards who attended on him. The Raya was doubtful of what he saw, doubtful whether it was Sevagy himself who was there, but being assured of the truth by Sevagy himself, remained silent and absorbed, not knowing what to do under the circumstances, but he soon came to a decision as to what that confidence deserved, got up, unfastened his hands himself and, with remarkable affability addressing him as his son, took him by his hands and seated him by his side with all possible demonstrations of extreme affection. They immediately entered into a conversation and the first exchanges of courtesies being over, Sevagy spoke as follows :—

"Great and powerful Raya, the knowledge of your singular generosity and your high lineage led me to decide that such should also be my action ; I wanted that it should be said to your glory that at your feet came Sevagy, to surrender himself voluntarily, impelled by your greatness and nothing else. For this I expect [90] to profit by the opinion I formed of you so that posterity may have nothing to find fault with, either your graciousness or my resolution." The Raya responded, throwing his arms about Sevagy's neck : " Thus far am I from ignoring the confidence you have in my courage (or heart); henceforth you are safe, and I promise not to fail you in any proposal that you may make and so you may go on naming them. I only beg you to attend to the common interest (of the two parties), for you know the obligation this office imposes on me."

To which Sevagy replied interrupting that he had nothing more to propose except begging (the Raya's) confidence in his fidelity and amity and that nothing should excuse their failure therein. For greater security he desired that both of them should swear by Rama and other gods that they should always be friends. As for proposals in regard to the common interest he offered to surrender to the Great Mogol twenty fortresses he had captured, and further to render himself his vassal and accept from him jaguir as he may be pleased to grant. This the Raya could not promise but said [91] that he would intercede for him for the clemency and the employment of Mogol. The Raya desired to be more sure of the fidelity of Sevagy and demanded hostages for what he had promised. Sevagy at once sent his servant who was there with a letter to his son that he should immediately come to the camp. The Raya sent a number of horsemen with the letter to escort him. The next morning he arrived accompanied by a large cavalry and infantry. Sevagy delivered him to the Raya and to please him more advised his son to address him as Grandfather. After delivering his son, Sevagy begged leave to return to fulfil his promise. The Raya gave him the permission, sent with

him those to whom the fortresses were to be delivered in the name of the Great Mogol and Sevagy left with them and the same people who had accompanied his son. He at once delivered the twenty fortresses among which were included the two Punadars, so esteemed by Sevagy, and the Raya ordered them all to be immediately garrisoned and strengthened. This done, Sevagy sought his uncle Neotagy without whose advice he did nothing. Having issued orders in respect of the [92] fortresses and the territories that still remained to him, they both went to see the Raya with such a retinue and treasure that caused the admiration of the Raya and the other captains of the Great Mogol. The Raya received them with marked pleasure and ordered them to lodge in the army. Every day, from morning to evening, Sevagy visited the Raya and they always spent hours together in private. This roused the suspicion of the Mouro cavaliers of the army who were at a loss to understand what was the matter that took so much time. If the Raya had not been so great a lord and so mighty in territories and vassals they might have suspected some conspiracy but they soon learnt the substance of the secrets from their effect. All took the road and the army turned to destroy Idalcao. This was the passionate desire of Sevagy and this forced upon him so blind a resolution that might have cost him his life and state. Sevagy pressed this strongly upon the Raya who raised many objections, one, and a very strong one, being the assistance that the King had rendered to the Mogol armies with his ten thousand horse [93] for so many years and that he was actually still employed in the service. It was a strong reason, but as Sevagy wanted to ruin him on that very ground he lost his patience to hear it and pressed the Raya with the following representations: the Great Mogol had sent a great man, and as Sevagy had surrendered at the mere echo of his fame, his valour had not been manifested and he should not lose the opportunity of conquering two at one blow and thereby immortalise his name. In short, he told him such things and

the Raya was so much elated with the prospect of fame that would result from the double victory that he was inclined to countenance the plan against the dictates of reason, more so, because he had no doubt about its success, the matter being so easy that nothing seemed wanting and everything possible for the mere wishing. The resolution having been taken the Raya summoned the Council of all the Umbraos of the army and communicated to them his purposes and the reasons which prompted him to that course and which would facilitate the enterprise according to what Sevagy had pointed out. Some of them objected to the proposal and that with strong reasons, but as soon as a powerful Umbrão [94], with whom the Raya had contracted fraternity (*feito irmandadi*), voted strongly in its favour all the others changed; they not only did not resist but besides according their approval, offered every help (such is the world everywhere). The Raya was pleased with the opinion of the Council and sent for the Commander of ten thousand horse whom the King (Idalcao), having returned to his capital, had left in his place. He told the captain with great suavity that as Sevagy had been subdued his residence in the army was excused and that he (the commander) might retire and go to the Court of his king whom he should inform to expect him (the Raya), for he was resolved to see him soon at his Capital of Visapur. The commander wanted to know the reason of so sudden a change, asserting that his king had never failed (in his duty) and always acted as the most loyal vassal of the Great Mogol. The Raya replied that such indeed was the fact and what he said was all true but that he remembered having many years ago left his *trunfa* (turban) at Visapur, which never returned to his hand, and that now that he was so near the place [95] he felt a desire to see it, for in any case he wanted to go to seek it. With these words he dismissed the commander who immediately left with his men to inform his king of what had happened.

CHAPTER XI

The army was prepared to set out against Visapur.

After the departure of the commander the Raya gave the order to march, which is made in the following manner; the General takes a larger sheet of paper and writes his name in the middle of it. Then all the Umbraos who are Captains of the army go on writing their names round about it, always leaving the General's name in the centre. His secretary immediately makes another copy similar to it and transmits it to the nearest Umbrao who makes a copy for himself and transmits the copy that had been sent to him to his neighbour who does the same and in this manner it runs through all till it returns to the very hand of the Secretary himself, showing that all have been informed [96] and have got copies. Afterwards in the order of march as well as in fixing quarters each one takes the place that the paper shows without any other change or without any contingency to excuse, each one of these Umbraos carries his banner as in a squadron of ships and each one has a very high mast which is invariably carried on the back of a number of men during the march. On the arrival at the place of encampment they wait till the General hoists his banner and immediately afterwards each one raises his standard in the same order as in the paper and by these banners their quarters are easily recognised, so to visit a captain nothing more is required but to look for his banner and find him. The army follows the Mirmanzel in the march and do not go one step without him. He is always obliged to encamp near a big river, for the ordinary ones do not suffice for the numerous mouths of which the army is composed. He always takes with him three men of equal stature, to whom he gives a cord that has a ring at each end and the cord has the length of a [97] geometrical pace, (a measure of five feet). These men are placed in a line one after another and the first and the last carry the cord with the rings on their shoulder, while the

other goes between them with the cord on his shoulder. The first carries a sharp pointed three pronged fork (*forquilha, com hum bom ferrao*) the second a rosary of stringed balls and the third goes always looking at the ground but all three carry the cord stiff. When marching the first man makes a stroke near his foot on the ground crossed and goes on and as soon as the last man sees the mark he shouts "Step," which signifies a pace; and immediately the man in the middle lets fall a ball, the first immediately makes another stroke and the third arriving at the place shouts anew and the second throws another ball and they go on like this till the army encamps. When they arrive there the balls are counted (and it is found out that) so many paces the army has marched. Thirty thousand of paces make a league and in this manner they do not walk without counting. When the counting is over, the Mirmanzel goes to report to the General and according to the greater or lesser length they have marched the Mirmanzel asks for or refrains from asking rest for the army. In short [98] if they observed the same order in battle as in everything else they would have been now the lords of the whole world. If an army is engaged in a campaign for twenty years and a stranger enters it once in the first year and again in the last year he will go through it in the same way and feel sure that it is the same (army he saw 20 years ago) for as they never change (the order of assigned places) the display of banner is enough at the first entry to go through it without any error which is not easy in the armies of Europe, which (error) seems to be great in their midst. We have viewed the march, let us pass to the events. The army had already marched for sixteen days towards the capital of Visapur and the further it penetrated into the territories of that King the greater became the difficulties of transporting provision and much more that of forage. The Raya left at all the stations (places) many companies to defend those who supplied everything to the army. These men have no other trade or pursuit than buying millions of bullocks for this service in which they

earn great wealth. These are called Vanyares [99], that is to say, men without any country, for their mothers conceive them on the road, bring them forth on the road, and bring them up on the road. When they happen to travel for the lands of the enemies (for hostile territories), ten or twelve thousands of them join together and have with them four, five or six millions of bullocks. They are all very skilled with bow and arrow and also with matchlocks. They resist their adversaries with great valour if they are attacked. After a few days' march, thirty thousand horse of the King of Visapur appeared in the rear of the army not only to desolate the field but also to waylay the Vanyares, eight thousand of whom they encountered accompanied by fifteen hundred Mogols whom the Raya had left for that purpose. They were at once assaulted and a most terrible battle was fought, which lasted from the morning till four in the evening but the Daquinis of Visapur, good soldiers as they are, finished the battle by killing all the Mogols and a great many of the Vanayares and left the rest to follow two thousands of the Vanayares who had taken advantage of the battle and leading three millions of bullocks had gone [100] at a great speed to take shelter with the army which however they could not overtake. The Raya felt this loss very much and the Idalcao felt so highly pleased that he conceded all the spoil, that was great, to his soldiers to encourage them for more and for the cruel war that such a small number waged against an army so vast. They (the Bijapuris) now appeared in the van of the army without any order and the Mogols also immediately closed with them at full gallop without any order and as the land was dry, such an amount of dust was raised that the sun could not be seen. The Daquinis had expected this and divided in three squadrons attacked the army in three places and caused great loss while the dust and confusion lasted and when it became clear and the Mogols recovered themselves the Daquinis were no longer to be found, at least, not in the same place and form as previously. The Mogols grew mad with anger and furiously

turned to assault and the Daquinis always played the same trick and their fun, therefore, was great and the loss they inflicted on the army was very heavy. None should be surprised at the celerity of these [101] Daquinis, for they are accustomed to carry no more baggage than their arms which consist of lances, bow, arrow, long and broad swords, with some bread and grass for their horses. Water and straw are abundantly found in the field. In this fashion they always go unencumbered, they sleep on the ground upon the earth and taking the bridle of the horses, and loosening the reins fasten them with their halters to their own wrists. They cover themselves with a cloth that serves as dress, mattress and wrapper ; they live in this manner and are therefore so quick and skilful that cause admiration and all these are quite contrary to (what is found among) the Mogols, for he who does not have with him at least a loaded camel feels very unhappy so that what is necessary to equip a Mogol soldier is sufficient for an army of the light Daquinis. Let us turn to the Mogol army. They marched with great fear for the Daquinis made at all hours and in every place false and real assaults. The Nabobo who commanded the vanguard informs the General of everything that happens and this is done in the following manner : [102] He takes with him for this purpose of information many men all of whom have their dromedaries, these are camels but of such a speed that they seem more to fly than to run. When a message is given, a man mounts his dromedary and runs to the General who is found in the middle of the army among fifty thousand horse that he has for his guards. He is mounted on a big elephant of war with other elephants of war in a circle around him. Outside these are the elephants of state with standards mounted on shafts held securely by many men seated on those very elephants. The messenger comes to the elephant of the General and the courier makes the dromedary sit on the earth and dismounting delivers the message after making his courtesies ; after hearing the message and repeating the courtesies he

turns to the dromedary still waiting on its haunches on the ground and returns in a moment to the presence of the Nabobo. To such an extent had the Daquinis lost the fear of the Mogols that they often got themselves mixed with the Mogol army itself, till they found an opportunity of committing some injury. And as soon as [103] the Mogols gave any opportunity, either for exit or disorder, the leaders with their horses retired first, for they are recognised by these (horses) such is the confusion of these armies caused by innumerable multitude and such is the address of the Daquinis owing to their incredible lightness. All this is facilitated by dress and language which are the same or almost so (and differ in nothing). With these troubles and some other misfortunes the Mogol army marched till they reached near Visapur where the Raya had many spies who informed him of everything. The king considered himself lost and after long consultations with his nobles about the means of evading his ruin decided on a method that would be ridiculed in Europe but was efficacious and useful to the superstitions of these Oriental barbarians.

CHAPTER XII

The Mogol Army returns with great haste.

[104] Everybody knows that pork is prohibited for the Mouros. This (rule) is observed among them and they neither eat it nor anything that is contaminated by it. The Hindus practise the same rule about the meat of cows to a greater excess. Not to kill a cow is the third of the five precepts they observe, the first and the second being not to kill the Brahmans (they are their Padres) and the women, which is equally atrocious. The king's remedy was based on this belief. It was to issue an order to the three settlements situated near

his capital at a distance of not more than half a league called Abdulapur, Cottapulur, Nacerapur, each one having a population of twenty-five thousand, or so. He ordered them all to go away with their belongings to any place that seemed most suitable to them. When the people were gone he ordered to throw in all the wells, lakes, cisterns and other reservoirs of water, [105] a quantity of pork and beef cut into pieces. The Raya got immediate information of this through his spies and as there was no more water in that country and the great majority of the army were Gentios and the rest (consisted of) the Mouros they were all so perturbed that the army immediately turned back in such a hurry that on that day they made two days' march. In this retreat the army suffered troubles enough from the sudden assaults made everywhere by the Daquinis and from the excesses of hunger, for the transport of food was impeded. It is a strange thing that surprise attacks could be made on such a powerful army in a country where there was nothing but open fields as far as could be seen ; yet these attacks were made every moment, for the innumerable multitude of animals that follows these armies raises so great, so continuous and such a dreadful (storm of) dust that whole days pass without the sun being seen and on this account assaults were made by day as if it were night. When the army was very near the territories of the Great Mogol one morning, the Daquinis made such a ferocious assault on it [106] with their thirty thousand horse, that the quarter attacked by them was broken, the commander (of that quarter) was killed with many soldiers and they penetrated to the middle of the battle field as far as the station where the Raya commanded, as we have already said, with fifty thousand horse and as he looked from his elephant they engaged in a terrible battle which lasted for two hours in which were killed two thousand Daquinis and twelve thousand Mogols though the latter being in the presence of their general fought with the utmost valour. A Daquini was on the point of hurling a lance at the Raya. At that

instant the Rayaputos hurried to his rescue and saved his life that was in no little danger. A Rayaputo immediately engaged with the daring Daquini, hurled at him a *Barchim*—that is, a lance to be thrown, (*lanca de aremeso*) which penetrated his heart and he fell dead but the Rayaputo could not boast of his (*thrust-tiro*) feat, for the comrades (of the slain man) surrounded him in such a manner that though Mahā Ragām Reptissing, a son of the general, set out with a large part of the army to his rescue, the Daquinis [107] killed him inspite of them all and hurled a lance at the general's son that passed through four folds of the suit that he wore round his waist, pierced the dress which was quilted with cotton to the thickness of two fingers, and the steel point entered though slightly into his belly. It can be seen from this not only the quantity of the arms (that look like silver in their bright steel and like lancets in sharpness) but the force with which they are hurled. The whole army ran to his rescue with so much noise that the Daquinis satisfied with their work dispersed and were gone without being pursued by anybody, for each one ran to his own post fearing lest it should be attacked by the Daquinis. Such was the fear that all had of their daring and incredible speed. The Raya was frightened by the boldness and agility of his adversaries and grieved for the death of the Rayaputos, specially of those who saved his life, because he did not think much of the others. So he ordered a halt to give them a funeral according to their custom which is to burn them in a big fire and the bigger the fire [108] the more solemn is the funeral. Therefore the relations and friends of the deceased show their affection by sending a great quantity of wood for his fire (funeral), he who sends more wood loves more and living persons feel greatly satisfied for having contributed to such a pious act. The grave Mouros bury their dead putting a pile of stone on the grave and the bigger the piles the more distinguished and great is the man who lies there. These are built in the fields and these eminences of stone correspond to the

high and sublime mausoleum built by those who end their life at home.

The army at last arrived at Sulapur, the first fortress of the Mogol in these regions, and there ended the scarcity and the frequent and numerous deaths from which it had suffered during the march, for few were the days on which eight hundred and more casualties did not occur, as the Daquinis had poisoned the water in that circuit. Those (alone) had escaped safely who had ordered their water to be boiled well and drank only boiled water.

CHAPTER XIII

I rable story and surprising disgrace of anapostate at Sulapur.

As we find ourselves at Sulapur, it will be well to relate what happened there to an apostate and though the case deserves silence rather than narration I shall very briefly tell it as it is manifested thereby that our weakness and wickedness arise from our forsaking God. A clergyman of a certain religion disguised in secular clothes acted as constable at Sulapur. The Indians imagine with strange persistency that all Europeans are artillerymen but greater is the deception practised by the Europeans who take advantage of this foolishness, for when they want to fly either for crimes or for license they pass to their country under this name (as an artilleryman) and get enough for their subsistence. There are many artillerymen of different nationalities in this fortress and this man commanded them with the title of Constable. Now that it is known [110] it is necessary to take note of another thing for the comprehension of this case. In these lands of the Mouros there is an inviolable law or custom that if any offence is committed against one who is

not a Mouro, be he a Christian, Gentio or Jew, etc., if he wants to be avenged he has to become a Mouro. When he declares himself as such, justice at once grants satisfaction to the aggrieved according to the nature of the offence. The same is the case if he has debts and does not want to pay, for, when he becomes a Mouro he owes nothing (to anybody) nor can the creditor say anything about it. All these are known. This fortress was commanded by an Abyssinian, the Etheopeans of Prester John are so styled—and for their valour and fidelity they are much esteemed in these regions and called Sedy Saibo, that is to say, Lord Abyssinian (*Senhor Abexim*). This Governor was one day in his place of audience when among other suitors appeared this unlucky man who after making his salam to the Governor in the Moorish fashion told him that he had a word to tell him in secret. The Governor asked him to wait till the end of the audience. So he was on his legs for three hours while all [111] the Mouros were seated. When all were gone the Governor asked him what he wanted. He replied that Mafoma had appeared before him in the previous night and told him that he should turn a Mouro if he wanted to save himself. This he said with great humility and with hands crossed on his chest and begged to be admitted into so holy a faith. The Governor looked at him and said, “Art not thou a clergyman of the Christians?”

“Yes sir,” he replied.

“If thou sayst thou art,” returned the Governor, “what motive hast thou for giving up the faith in which thou hast been brought up, and embracing the religion of the Mouros? If anybody has offended thee, tell me, and I shall avenge thee in what manner thou likest, and if thou owest anything to anybody, declare it, for I promise to pay it for thee, however high the sum may have grown.”

Then the apostate swore that none had offended him and he owed nothing to anybody but he wanted to be a Mouro to save himself, for Mafoma had so directed him. The astonished

Governor directed him to go home and speak about it another day, for in the interval God might enlighten him. The apostate replied that he would [112] not give up his intention and after many days he gave no other reply than that he resolved to obey the command of *Mafoma*. The Governor was constrained by such a resolute reply and calling a servant ordered him to bring the *Boxa* (it is a strong and square piece of cloth with a large ribbon at its end ; in it they put the most cherished goods and fasten it in such a manner that it becomes a well-made and secure packet) which he ordered to be unfastened and then sent away the servant. He himself then drew from it a bag two palms in length (it was of dyed cloth), he drew out of it another bag of brocade and opening it he drew a beautifully worked and perfect crucifix and after gazing at it and kissing it showed it to the apostate and asked him whether he knew that Lord. He replied (placing his right hand on the top of his head which is the salute among the Mouros) : *Azaret Ina is que Nixanahest*, that is to say, it is the image of holy Jesus ; and then the Governor said to the wretch in anger :—"Dost thou want to forsake the Lord who created thee and after much suffering [113] redeemed thee on the cross to follow the falsehoods of *Mafoma* ? Art thou mad ? Forsakest thou light to go to grope in darkness ? The heaven for hell ? Is it possible that thou who hast the high dignity of a clergyman (*sacerdote*) hast a heart so mean that thou wantst to pass from a Minister of God to be the executioner of the Devil ? I believe thou hast undoubtedly that enemy in thy body, for otherwise it would not have been possible. Well then, don't be a Mouro and I promise to favour thee so long as thou livest and when I give up this command, thou knowest well that I am a commander of three thousand horse and have abundance of money to spend, I promise to take thee as my partner and I shall do all these and more for thee if thou payest me by hearing my confession when I want." The Governor said all these with his eyes bathed in tears and the apostate listened with dry eyes without saying a word, so that the Governor imagined

that he had converted him and asked him with tenderness, "What dost thou say my Padre?"

"There is [114] much reason in what you say," replied the apostate, "but it makes no impression on me (*mas nada comigo tem lugar*) for I am resolved to be a Mouro, I shall not trouble you as I had the good luck to see Mafoma and I am inclined to obey him." The Governor became very furious and called him a Naçarene, that is to say, a renegade, and other abusive names and in conclusion said in anger, "Go, wretch, do what thou likest and take this warning which I give thee, if thou speakest to any body about what passed between us I shall immediately put thee on *soly*—that is to say, pierce you." It is the instrument of execution in these regions, a wood firmly fixed in the ground with a very sharp point at the other end; on this the culprit is seated and when it enters through his body, two executioners drag him by the legs until the point appears through the head and he is in that state left to the birds who do not take long to devour him. Thus threatened the apostate left the presence of the Governor and thence went to the house of the Cahazy of the Mouros where he professed (the faith) of the sect of Mafoma and begged the ministers to go with him to his house for circumcising him [115]. He remained in bed for many days on account of the wound caused thereby, of which not a few dies. After he had been cured (he rose—*se levantou*) he got as reward a Mouro to marry and many a cruzado per day besides the sixty he got per month as constable, and so felt very happy. I do not know how he ended but it is not necessary to enquire about it. None wondered at the conduct of the Governor, for he was one of those who had accompanied the patriarch, Dom Affonso Mendes.

When he left Ethiopea and when that Prelate died at Goa he had nothing to give to his followers and they found themselves unprovided for. So cold was the affection of the Christians that these had to seek a living among the Mouros.

This Governor finding himself at Goa in that condition embarked for Surrate where he met others of his nation who knew him, for he was their leader. They persuaded him to serve a king who esteemed the Abyssinians very much and particularly men of such high station as was his. He did so and left for the capital of Agra and the great Mogol [116] immediately appointed him captain of eight hundred horse and he afterwards rose to be an umbrao of three thousand horse and was now Governor of Sulapur, a fortress of importance, as it is on the frontiers. But he always preserved the faith of Christ and used to confess whenever he met a missionary.

SURENDRANATH SEN

Reviews

The Prophet of Islam.—By Mahammad Ali, M.A., LL. B., p. 45, with a Preface, price As. 4. The book can be obtained from Akhadiyya Buildings, Lahore. The get-up of the book is good.

In this small treatise Mr. Mahammad Ali, the well-known Indian patriot, has given a charming sketch of the life of the Prophet Muhammad. He has particularly dealt with those points which the enemies of Islam consider to be the weakness of Prophet's life, *e.g.*, his polygamy and religious intolerance. As regards his polygamy, Mr. Mahammad Ali rightly points out that he married at 25 and lived with a single wife—Khadijah up to 54, when she died; up to 54, the Prophet of Islam bore a spotless character, but after 55 when his polygamous connection began, he became suddenly voluptuous! The man who was a master of passions up to 54, can hardly become a victim of passions after 55. Old age rather soothes the passions of a man and does not augment them.

"No other motive than compassion for the ladies who were given this honour can be attached to these marriages. If there had been any less honourable motive his choice would have fallen on others than widows, and under the Arab custom a man in his position could have plenty of youthful virgins."

As to the preaching of faith by sword, Mr. Mahammad Ali observes as follows: "A misconception generally prevails among all non-Muslims. It is that the Holy Prophet Muhammad preached his faith with the sword. It is a myth pure and simple. The basic principle of Islam, a faith in all the prophets of the world, is enough to give the lie to this allegation. The great and liberal mind that preached not only love and respect for the founders of the great religions of the world, but much more than that—faith in them—could not shrink down to the narrowness of intolerance for those very religions. Tolerance is not in fact the word that can sufficiently indicate the breadth of the attitude of Islam to other religions. It preaches equal love for all, equal respect for all, equal faith in all." This misconception prevails not only among non-Muslims but among Muslims too. For, is it not a fact that most of the Muslims believe that they can pass to Heaven if they succeed in killing a *Kafir* or unbeliever? The Prophet of Islam was tolerant indeed, but some of his followers are not. However this may be, we are decidedly of opinion this brief sketch will go a great way in establishing

friendly relations between Muslims and non-Muslims of India. We can safely recommend this book to them.

A. GUHA

The Evolution of Man Scientifically Disproved, p. 125. By Rev. William A. Williams, D. D., published by the author himself, 1202 Atlantic Avenue Camden, New Jersey, U. S. A. The get-up of the book is good.

The book is divided into three parts. In the first part, material evolution, especially the evolution of the human body is disproved. In the second part, the alleged proofs of the evolution are further considered and disproved. In the third part, the author shows that the evolution fails to account for the origin of the individual soul. In the first part, the author shows some scholarship in collecting evidence against organic evolution. The evolutionists themselves condemn it. As Prof. Newman puts it, "Reluctant as we may be to admit, honesty compels the evolutionist to admit that there is no absolute proof of organic evolution." It is true that there is hardly any evidence for the transmutation of the species. Because the theory of organic evolution is disproved, it does not necessarily follow that the theory of creation of the living creatures including man and woman in their fully developed forms as advocated in the first book of the Old Testament is true. Again what about the inorganic evolution? The author hardly brings forward any argument against the inorganic evolution. In the book of the Genesis, we find that God created the earth in the first day, firmament or heaven in the second day, grass and other vegetables in the third day, stars in the fourth day, and so on. Can any scientist of repute give any credence to the above theory of creation? It appears to us that the author hardly writes with an open mind. In the second part, he brings forward further evidence against the transmutation of species from the standpoint of Palaeontology. "The whole hypothetical pedigree of man is not supported by a single genus or a single fossil species." In the third part, the author holds that the evolution fails to account for the spiritual part of the man. The individual soul cannot be regarded as the product of the arrangement of the brain substance. Neither can it be the product of the evolution, nor a growth from father or mother. The author concludes that God creates each soul anew, as He created the souls of Adam and Eve. On the theory advocated by the author, it is not possible to explain the unequal position of the human beings. If

God is just, why does He make men and women unequal in their position in life? The book, though rich in materials, does not always show the correct argumentative power of its author. The author's bias for Christianity at times blinds him.

A. GHATA

Calcutta Rhymes: (Wise, unwise and otherwise). By Diogenes. Thacker, Spink & Co., 1926. Diogenes (shall we accept his statement and know him for John Munroe, Captain), as the author styles himself in the exquisite preface to this book of verses, has 'perpetrated verse' and is, willing to submit his performances to the judgment of those who are not poets; and has a request to make,—that his critics may be selected from those who have been amused by the book. Does not this show that our twentieth century Diogenes is not wholly impervious to praise or blame?

But he had no cause for anxiety; few of his readers will fail to be amused by the lines now caustic, now reflective, almost always full of vigour. The first thing that strikes is the variety of themes that appeal to him,—Calcutta and the tram ticket, the Howrah Bridge and the Calcutta Corporation, Revolutionary Bengal and Non-Co-Operation Movement, Nurses and Surgeons, Sir Surendranath's patriotism and Mr. R. C. Bonerjee's love for Browning, nothing escapes him;—he has a word for everything, "wise, unwise and otherwise," as the case merits. He is very seldom without his humour and tries steadily to look at the absurdities of all things. This may go a little way to explain his distorting almost all things Indian, his versifying in the wake of Kipling, but there is no cause for the gnashing of teeth against an honest laugh.

To Diogenes, parody is a favourite literary form. Out of 80 poems, the parodies number nearly ten and they are all cleverly done. The 'Doctor's proposal' and 'A legend of Calcutta' will make everybody laugh—'No flowers by request' on the much discussed affair of the burial of the Fir will not be an equal success, as public memory is short; it has already ceased to feel about the question,

The poet is not without a touch of seriousness in some of his poems, as in the very first piece—On Calcutta.

"Imaginary Opinions," taken from different authorities—Gandhi and Tagore, Agent, E. I. Ry. and Secretary, Poetry Society, Calcutta—and stated in the characteristic manner of those from whom they purport to come, add greatly to the delight of the verses and let us hope this

novelty will be, as it certainly deserves to be, appreciated. But is not the Shadow of Diogenes discernible among the judges too?

PRİYARANJAN SEN

“**India: Its Character**” (A Reply to Mother India) by Chapman, Librarian, Imperial Library, Calcutta (Basil Blackwell, Oxford, 1928, 5s. net) is a welcome addition to the many rejoinders called forth by Miss Mayo’s provoking book. The secret of Mr Chapman’s very successful presentation of the real Indian life within the narrow compass of only 84 pages lies in his conviction that “no people should be judged except after long and deep study” and this little book is surely the result of such a conscientious study. The matter is most intelligently selected so as to cover as much as possible aspects that do signify and it is put admirably in good, simple, terse language inimitable in expressiveness and beauty. He further wisely adds that the judgment formed of a foreign people need never be spoken out—at any rate, we may say, spoken out rudely, harshly, with brutal vigour, not to speak of, for the ignoble end of political propaganda or, worse still, to intensify the great evil of racial antipathy. Sensible people are expected to remember that in these days assumption of unwarranted superiority will never go unchallenged.

We are glad to note that Mr. Chapman has so honestly approached his difficult study in a manner contrary to the habit of average Europeans and has taken care to regulate his powers of keen observation and habit of analysis by a sympathetic imagination which, we all know, is the open sesame between “stranger and stranger.”

In the best sense of the word, his observations on Indian men and women, their manners, ways of life and thought, conditions of existence, beliefs and ideals, are shrewd. He knows, for instance, that religion and not weather “is the thing to talk to any Indian Travelling companion” on a train, who, oftner than not, will have with him a *religious book*, or, that, if an Indian sits too far apart from his foreign travelling companion while partaking in the train of his meal, he does it not from unsociableness but because “there is bound up something of sacrament” with every meal. He can realise that if men and women, like Ranade, his wife, Ramabhai, even his orthodox father of the “old” school of ideas and practice, Moradale, Rabindranath’s brothers, their wives, “are not lovable people, where on earth are there lovable people?” And these are, he rightly thinks, not exceptions to the general

file, for, says he, "Most of the Indian faces that I have known well have had all the signs of clean living." One may go on quoting endlessly from Mr. Chapman's beautiful little book so extraordinarily rich in such remarks. As a further qualification we may mention that this foreigner has an eye for "faces with a *rishi*-like smile, in whose heart there always is *puja*" and who possess a beautiful soul "with which may go many weaknesses, incapacities, and so on, but there remains that something that Jesus or St. Francis would have loved." But you must not hastily conclude that Mr. Chapman's is special pleading. His honest and just appreciation of whatever is best in the Indian does not debar detection of something detestable in an unlovely man's character when occasion brings him unhappily into such a person's contact. He equally notes that India is too much "fear-ridden" or was for centuries "a harried land" which accounts for "the little-competence" of Indians, from which, however, "it would perhaps be wrong to draw any hard-held conclusion." Still more noteworthy is the writer's admirable moral courage in candidly admitting that "the common comparative freedom of Indian men from the obsession of sexual thought that arises out of sexual starvation is due, I believe, to their living more natural lives than mine has been." There are other such evidences at pages 50, 54, 55, which we have not space enough for quoting.

Mr. Chapman has gone straight into the real heart of this much misunderstood, but more maligned, vast country and very old and extremely complex civilisation and culture, for suggestive sources and not to hospitals, police courts, census statistics collected in the first instance by illiterate village *choukidars* and marshalled later on by officials with a certain purpose in view.

His chapter headings themselves evince real discretion and sound judgment and indicate his competence. He reveals the relation between strangers, between father and son, grandfather and grandson, mother and son, brother and sister and so on, till we come in the 7th chapter to Miss Mayo's odious performance, to be followed by four nicely written chapters on men, women, children and animals in general and two on Indian literature. The closing two pages of the book are set apart for discriminating true Hinduism from the Hinduism condemned by un-Christian political Christians.

We must say, however, that Mr. Chapman's is a poetic personality, necessarily emotional, and even in this book he cannot or does not disguise his strong likes and dislikes. It is, we presume, mainly meant not for Indian readers, though their fine susceptibilities thoughtlessly hurt

by a foolish book written by a foolish woman may find in the present volume something soothing for its "charity." This book should certainly be in the hands of every Western man and woman whom Miss Mayo may have succeeded in effectively misleading.

J. G. B.

Anthropology of the Syrian Christians—By Rao Bahadur L. K. Ananthakrishna Iyer, Lecturer in Anthropology, University of Calcutta.

The present work—consisting of some 350 large, clearly printed and splendidly illustrated pages—published by the Cochin State—is the result of a more intensive study of the manners and customs of the Syrian Christians of Malabar, Cochin and Travancore, than was possible for Mr. Iyer when he embodied the results of his early investigations in Chapter XVI of the second volume of the 'Cochin's Tribes and Castes' nearly twenty years ago. The volume now under consideration opens with a lengthy and interesting introduction by the late Dr. William Crooke. Mr. Iyer's work begins with a historical account of the origin and development of the Syrian Church covering 50 pages. The next 100 pages are devoted to social status and organisation, marriage customs and inheritance. Religion takes up the next 50 pages and this includes a treatment in considerable detail of such subjects as the sacraments, holidays and feasts, liturgies and forms of worship prevalent among Syrian Christians. Then follow a few very interesting chapters covering 50 pages on such matters as Education, Slavery and Caste problems, occupations and industries, manners, dress and games. The book concludes with an account of the origin, history and customs of certain kindred communities, the Roman Catholics of the Latin Rite—not the Syro-Romans proper who are described in the main body of the book—but the Latin Nazaranees, who though claiming kinship with Syrians are really the descendants of the converts of St. Francis Xavier and the Portuguese missions. There are several valuable appendices on such subjects as songs, proverbs and physical measurements. The illustrations are very numerous, consisting mostly of photographs taken by Mr. Iyer himself, of natural scenery, family, marriage and funeral groups, priests, nuns and bishops in characteristic ecclesiastical dress; houses, streets, churches, cathedral and cocoanut gardens. Indeed the whole book contains a mass of valuable information—religious and anthropological—regarding a Christian community indigenous to India, older than

most of the Hindu sects, and is indispensable to anyone who wishes to make a scientific study of the ethnic, religious and social problems of Cochin and Travancore—States in which Syrian Christians have played so important a part from the early centuries of the Christian era. More particular reference may be made to a few matters some of which as far as may be necessary Mr. Iyer may bear in mind when he brings out another edition of his work.

(1) I was interested to find that Mr. Iyer does not agree with most modern European scholars in rejecting the ancient tradition which represents St. Thomas as the first Christian teacher in India. Most historical scholars, like Dr. Crooke in his introduction, summarily reject legends because historical documents are not forthcoming to establish their accuracy. But 'not proven' is not the same as 'untrue', especially when one bears in mind that the earliest records of Christianity in Malabar are from the nature of the case not available for deposit in the British Museum, though what in time may yet be recovered it is impossible to say. We are however on solid ground when we recall that in the sixth century A. D. an Alexandrian monk, Cosmos Indicopleustes, found many Christian Churches on the coast of India, and in Ceylon and Socotra, with clergy ordained by and subject to the Persian Archbishop of Seleucia, and with a tradition that they had been founded in the first century. The full significance of this is realised when we remember that there are stray references in earlier writers from the second century onwards to an Indian Church of apostolic origin. Summing up his discussion of the subject Mr. Iyer points out that in the palmy days of the Roman Empire "there had been a great deal of commercial intercourse between the coasts of Malabar and Palestine, and the Jews had already settled in these parts. Judging from these historical facts (liturgical documents, testimony of the Fathers of the Church, the account of the early European travellers) and from the traditions current among them, as also from the old numerous songs sung by the Syrians on marriage and other occasions, it is not unlikely that the apostle St. Thomas came to these parts to spread the Gospel among the Hindus of Kerala." Mr. Iyer's references to the literature of the subject need bringing up to date. In particular mention should be made of the published researches of scholars working in connection with the Rylands Library of Manchester.

(2) Dr. Crooke draws attention to the fact that Mr. Iyer makes no reference to the view strongly maintained by Sir George Grierson that the *Bhakti Marga* was deeply influenced through contact with the Christianity of South India. Mr. Iyer is I think an orthodox Hindu,

but he writes with a remarkable detachment, fairness, fulness and accuracy of the religious tenets and rites of the various bodies of Syrian Christians. Throughout the book there is nothing that shews any Hindu bias in his treatment of the sacred doctrines of Christianity, and so his treatment of the possible influence of Christianity on certain aspects of Hinduism would be all the more valuable. He has brought out clearly how the Christianity of Malabar was influenced by its Hindu environment. In a later edition of his work he may bear in mind the other aspect of the question.

(3) I am inclined to think that the book shews a lack of proportion in the extent to which it deals with Cochin as opposed to Travancore, and with Roman Catholics (especially the decisions of the Synod of Diamper) as opposed to the other great bodies of Syrians. Greater stress might also have been laid on the village community life of the Syrians, and of the cordial relations that exist with their Hindu neighbours, as evidenced by the fact that so many Christians are tenants, in the matter of land tenure, of Namabudiri Brahmans, and that in settling disputes, village elders, both Hindu and Christian, are called in as arbitrators. There are also several statements in the book which a Syrian Christian would probably regard as incomplete or incorrect, while there are also several minor errors due to faulty proof-reading. But these are small matters that can be easily remedied. The book as a whole is a great contribution to mutual understanding and good will in a sphere where bitter controversy is still too much the order of the day, and we should like to see more Hindu scholars coming forward to treat the problems of Christian history, life and thought in the dispassionate method characteristic of Mr. Iyer.

GEORGE HOWELLS

A MEMORANDUM FROM SIR MICHAEL E. SADLER

We are very glad to publish the following brief memorandum kindly written specially for our Review by Sir Michael E. Sadler, K.C.S.I., C.B., D.Litt., LL.D., and sent by the last mail from University College, Oxford, for which we are grateful to him.

Has Calcutta University ever organised an exhibition of its treasures? It must possess many things precious by their association and of intrinsic value, books and pictures especially. Such an exhibition would emphasise the personal side of the Alma Mater. It might encourage rich men and women to make gifts of beautiful books, pictures and plate to the University. An exhibition of this kind has just been opened in Oxford at the Ashmolean Museum. For the first time almost all the most interesting pieces of Oxford College Plate have been brought together. The Goldsmiths' Company, active in the encouragement of beautiful workmanship, suggested the Exhibition and have joined with other guarantors in defraying the cost of installation and custody. The Victoria and Albert Museum has lent show-cases. The selection of pieces has been made by Mr. G. R. Hughes of the Goldsmiths' Company, Mr. Andrew Shirley of the Ashmolean Museum and Mr. W. W. Watts, F.S.A., late of the Victoria and Albert Museum. The latter has also written an admirable and scholarly catalogue.

M. E. SADLER

THE MASTER'S LODGINGS ; UNIVERSITY COLLEGE,
OXFORD.

THE ROYAL INSTITUTE OF INTERNATIONAL POLITICS

Our thanks are due to our valuable contributor Dr. Taraknath Das, A.M., Ph.D., now at Munich, Germany, for having drawn

our attention to the announcement in the London Times on October, 25, last that Sir Abe Bailey, who took a prominent part in the establishment, in 1920, of the Royal Institute of International Affairs, of which the Prince of Wales is the head, as "Visitor" offered in his letter to the Prince, dated London, July, 18, 1928, to provide an income of £5,000 a year payable in quarterly instalments in perpetuity. This amount is meant to promote research in international relations. The Prince has, of course, gratefully accepted this munificent gift on behalf of the Institute.

The history of the foundation as given by the donor in his letter is briefly as follows :—

When on the Armistice being made peace terms had to be settled, a number of qualified public-spirited men—officials and non-officials (devoted to public service rather than amassing of wealth)—assembled in Paris to make an exhaustive study of the problems involved. Discussion followed of the method between the British and the American Delegations resulting in the scheme for founding national institutes for the study of international affairs which later on materialised as the Institute in question. Sir Abe Bailey sent Lord Robert Cecil £250 for the initial costs of organisation and with the help of Lord Grey, Mr. Arthur Balfour, Mr. Clynes and Lord Robert Cecil, this centre for the study of Imperial and Foreign relations was created in 1920. The noble gift of Chatham House by Colonel and Mrs. R. W. Leonard of Ontario to the British Commonwealth furnished it with a worthy local habitation and the Dominions (Australia and Canada) have started branches of their own. The Prime Minister and the Viceroy of India are its honorary presidents. By a Royal Charter defining its non-political character the Institute has been precluded from propaganda in any shape confining its activities chiefly to research. It possesses a well-furnished library of current international politics. It produced "The History of the Peace Conference of Paris" and makes an annual Survey of International Affairs and undertakes the

study of specific countries and problems through specially constituted study groups of qualified members who invite people from all parts of the world to Britain to help enquiry and offer first-hand knowledge not otherwise available. The importance of economic questions in international affairs has been given due recognition by enlisting the co-operation of business men possessing information of which the political value was hitherto not thoroughly realized.

It is financed mostly by members' subscriptions and notable donations in money and house property besides annual contributions of £250 from each of the three political parties in England and of £200 from the Bank of England.

Sir Abe Bailey strongly emphasizes the important fact that the Institute exists for research and research only and adds a human touch to his princely gift by referring to his admiration for Cecil John Rhodes who, he believes, was convinced that "the nations of the Empire by learning to live together in peace might teach that lesson to the rest of the world." "Such an aim," he holds, "can only be realized by methods of exact and continuous study, such as those which the Royal Institute of International Affairs has reduced to practice."

In Sir Abe Bailey's language "In thus showing how international questions can be made the subject of continuous and dispassionate inquiry the British Empire will be making the most important contribution to the peace of the world."

We offer to our Alma Mater one suggestion in this connection, *viz.*, that steps should be taken by this premier University of India to connect it with this world movement for the study and development of International Relations by the creation of a Chair of International Law attached to the University Law Department with the help of funds provided partly by the Government and partly by donations from rich Calcutta merchants whose duty it is to endow such a chair.

ALL-INDIA MEDICAL CONFERENCE

We have received from the Secretaries, All-India Medical Conference to be held in Calcutta during the ensuing Christmas holidays, a circular letter and a copy of the provisional programme and have pleasure in inviting, as desired, Papers which should reach by the 15th December from competent writers on Scientific, Public Health and kindred problems to be discussed in the various Sections of the Conference of which Sir Nilratan Sircar, Kt., M.A., M.D., D.C.L. (Oxon.), LL.D. (Edin.), is the Chairman of the Reception Committee and Messrs. Jatindranath Maitra, M.B., and Aghorenath Ghosh, M.B., the Honorary Secretaries, the office being located at 62, Bowbazar Street. We regret we have no space for the 9 pages of printed matter forming the circular which, among other details, mentions the Sections into which the Conference is divided, *viz.*, (1) Scientific and Public Health (including Maternity and Child welfare), (2) Medical Ethics, etc., (3) Medical Education and Research, (4) Indigenous Medicine, (5) Medical and Public Health Administrations, (6) Medical Jurisprudence, (7) Medical Benefit Organisation and (8) Formation of an All-India Association, indicating the subjects that will be discussed at the meetings of the Conference.

Ourselves

DEATH OF LALA LAJPAT RAI

In the sudden death of Lala Lajpat Rai, popularly known as the lion of the Punjab, at Lahore, on November 17, whose noble services to and sacrifices for his country have won for him even from his political opponents their unstinted praise and esteem India has lost a selfless patriot and the Punjab one of her most glorious sons at this critical time when the country is on the eve of momentous constitutional changes. Born in 1865 in the Ludhiana District he was educated at Lahore and joined the Hissar Bar and early in life took up social service work in connection with the well-known Dayanand movement devoting himself specially to the removal of untouchability and uplift of the depressed classes and organisation of orphan relief in times of famine and severe earthquakes. His political activities began in 1888 for which in 1907 he suffered deportation under Regulation III of 1818 to the Mandalay jail (Burma). He next addressed himself to the important work of educating American public opinion about the real state of things in India, and on his return was elected President of the Calcutta session of the Special Congress in 1920. He was the author of "Arya Samaj," "United States of America," and "Unhappy India" (a reply to Miss Mayo's "Mother India").

We offer our sincerest condolence to the bereaved family of the departed noble soul.

THE LATE MR. S. R. DAS

The death on September 29, of Mr. S. R. Das, Legal Member of the Executive Council of the Governor-General of

India and Member of the Senate, Calcutta University, removed an important figure from the camp of moderate politics, who in his own way has rendered valuable service to the cause of education and social reform. An ardent supporter of the Brahmo Samaj, with which his father Mr. Durgamohan Das, a well-known Calcutta lawyer of eminence, was intimately associated the late Mr. Das took a living interest in education and his latest efforts had been directed towards the foundation of something like an English Public School for Indian boys, evidently, belonging to the well-to-do classes. We offer our sincere sympathy to the widow and her two sons.

NEW PH.D.'s

The following gentlemen have been admitted to the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy :

Name	Subject of the Thesis submitted
1. Mr. Gangacharan Kar, M.A.	“Comparative Studies in Mediæval Amatory Lyrics with reference to Bengali Vaishnava Padāvali and Provencal Troubadour Poetry as Types.”
2. Mr. S. K. Maitra, M.A., Lecturer, Calcutta University.	“The Ethics of the Hindus.”
3. Mr. Amareswar Thakur, M.A.	“Hindu Law of Evidence or A Comparative Study of the Law of Evidence according to the Smritis.”

A NEW D.Sc.

Mr. Suddhodan Ghosh, M.Sc., has been admitted to the Degree of Doctor of Science. The thesis submitted by him was

- (a) "On plane-strain in elliptic co-ordinates."
- (b) "On liquid motion inside certain rotating circular arcs."
- (c) "On a problem of elastic circular plates."
- (d) "On the solution of $V_{4,10}=C$ in bi-polar co-ordinates and its application to a problem of elasticity, etc."

SREEGOPAL BASU MALLIK FELLOW

Prof. R. D. Ranade has been appointed Sreegopal Basu Mallik Fellow for the year 1928-1929.

PREMCHAND ROYCHAND STUDENTSHIP

The Premchand Roychand Studentship in Literary Subjects for the year 1927 will be divided equally among the following four candidates on the usual conditions :—

Names	Theses
Mr. Asutosh Bhattacharya	... Vedanta as the theory of Knowledge.
Mr. Amarendraprasad Mitra	... Nationality in India.
Mr. Devaprasad Ghosh	... The Decorative Art of Orissa and The Development of Buddhist Art in South India.
Mr. Tarakchandra Raychaudhuri	... The Brahmins of Bengal.

KAMALA LECTURESHIP

On the recommendation of the Syndicate the Senate has appointed Mr. M. R. Jayakar, M.A., LL.B., Barrister-at-Law, M.L.A.; as Kamala Lecturer for 1928, the subject of his lectures being "Ideals of Indian Culture."

A HONORARY D. SC.

The Senate met on October 12th, to confer *Honoris Causa* the Degree of Doctor in the Faculty of Science on Professor Arnold Sommerfield, Professor of Theoretical Physics at the University of Munich and Reader of this University, on account of his eminent position and attainments in the Departments of Theoretical Physics, Mathematics and Applied Science. In honouring Prof. Sommerfield our University honours one who by reason of his personal attainments is pre-eminently worthy. He has been the recipient of honours from all over the world, and we here feel honoured by being permitted, through his acceptance of our intention, to share in this widespread recognition. He was also the Editor of the Volumes on Physics in the Encyclopaedia of the Mathematical Sciences and he is best known as the author of a treatise on *Atomic Structure and Spectral Lines*.

DR. EDWARD S. CORWIN

We are glad to announce that Dr. Edward S. Corwin, Professor of Jurisprudence at Princeton University, who is coming out as visiting Carnegie Professor of International Relations to Universities in China, will also kindly visit the University of Calcutta.

DR. S. RADHAKRISHNAN.

We offer our hearty congratulations to Prof. S. Radhakrishnan, M.A., George V Prof. of Mental and Moral Philosophy, University of Calcutta, on the Honorary Degree of Doctor of Literature being conferred on him by the Andhra University.

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SIR BRAJENDRA LAL MITTER

We are glad to announce that Sir Brajendra Lal Mitter, Kt., M.A., Bar.-at-Law, Advocate-General, Bengal, Fellow of the Calcutta University, has been appointed as Law Member of the Executive Council of the Governor-General in succession to the late Mr. S. R. Das.

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LAW EXAMINATIONS

The next Preliminary, Intermediate and Final Examinations in Law will commence on the following dates. The last date, in each case, for submission of fees and applications for admission to the examinations is also stated below.

Examination.	Commencing date.	Last date for submission of fees and applications.
Preliminary Law	Monday, the 7th January, 1929	7th December, 1928.
Intermediate Law	Monday, the 14th	14th
Final Law	Monday, the 21st	14th

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L.T. AND B.T. EXAMINATIONS

The next L.T. and B.T. Examinations will commence on Tuesday, the 16th April, 1929.

Fees and applications for admission to the examinations must reach the office of the Controller of Examinations on or before the 5th March, 1929.

